

HISTORY

OF THE

KINGS OF FRANCE;

CONTAINING

THE PRINCIPAL INCIDENTS IN THEIR LIVES, FROM THE FOUNDATION
OF THE MONARCHY TO LOUIS PHILLIPPE, WITH A
CONCISE BIOGRAPHY OF EACH.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Sebenty=Two Portraits of the Sovereigns of France.

BY

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"CONCHOLOGIST'S FIRST BOOK," ETC. ETC.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It is believed that among all the labored histories of France, there is not in existence an illustrated biographical sketch of the lives and customs of their kings: this is only to be acquired by toiling through a variety of authors, many of which are but imperfectly known. The author of this volume has for his object the presentation of a work extracted from the best authorities, placed in biographical order, so as to become interesting and useful to readers of either sex.

He has attentively compared various authors, and trusts this volume will be found to contain facts incontestably established.

For much of this valuable matter, the author is indebted to the voluminous works of both Gregory of Tours and the Abbe Velly, two historians of that day whose works for veracity are very generally quoted by modern writers; also to the productions of Professor d'Arnay, and Mr. Gifford, his obligations are acknowledged.

In order to give this work an importance, not only in the Library, but to the Cabinet of the Numismatist, and collector of Medals, it is embellished with portraits of seventy-two Sovereigns who filled the throne from the foundation of the monarchy to the present reign, engraved from a series of medals lately issued in France and believed to be perfect likenesses. The sources from which they were originally obtained are given in the following pages.

In conclusion, therefore, the compiler most respectfully submits his efforts to the tribunal of an indulgent public.

Series of Medals contained in this volume can be obtained from Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, at the following prices—

In bronze,	-	-	\$75 00
Plated with silver,	-	-	85 00
Do. gold,	-	-	100 00

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PHARAMOND. First King of France—Foundation of the monarchy—Conversion of Pharamond to Christianity—Institution of the <i>Salique</i> law—Death, &c.	17
CLODION. His turbulent and unhappy reign—Description of the race, dress, &c.	18
MEROVEE. His inauguration, character, &c.	20
CHILDERIC I. Attempt to steal and carry him into captivity—His rescue—Return of the piece of gold as a signal of attachment—Curious relics found in his tomb	21
CLOVIS I. Ascension to the throne—Challenge to Syagrius—A bloody battle the result—His marriage—Conversion to Christianity, with three thousand of his subjects—The holy phial—The Passage of the Hind—Death of Clovis	23
CHILDEBERT I. At the death of Clovis his four sons draw lots for the division of the kingdom—Paris is drawn by Childebert—Description of the divisions—Death of Clodomir and Thierry—Builds and establishes a number of monasteries—Abolishes idols, images, &c.	27
CLOTAIRE I. Takes up arms against his son, who had joined the Britons against his father—Taken prisoner, and by his father's orders executed on the spot—His wife and three children strangled and burnt—Clotaire dies in a state bordering on distraction	31
CARIBERT. Division of France into four kingdoms—Seizure of the late king's treasures by his son Chilperic—Caribert's marriage—His queen abjures Arianism—He repudiates Ingoberga, and marries the daughter of an artisan, and thirdly the daughter of a shepherd	32
CHILPERIC I. Battle with the Hungarians—Chilperic is taken prisoner—is restored to liberty—Dress worn at that day—Marriage of the son of Chilperic to his aunt—The prelate disgraced and the son assassinated—The wicked reign of Chilperic visited by the anger of Heaven—His assassination on his return from his country seat	35
CLOTAIRE II. Flight and protection of Fredegonda—Declared regent and guardian to her infant son—Attempt to assassinate Childebert—Supposed to be instigated by the wicked Fredegonda—Her stratagem and battle with the Austrasians—Her crimes and death	43

DAGOBERT I. Acknowledged king—The assassination of Brunulf by the order of Dagobert—Repudiation of his wife—Marries another—His throne of gold, &c.	50
CLOVIS II. Division of the kingdom between Clovis and his brother Sigebert—Restoration of unjust exactions—Death of Sigebert—His son Dagobert seized and carried to Scotland—Famine in France—Gold from the tombs of St. Denis sold for the relief of the poor, &c.	54
CLOTAIRE III. Proclaimed king—Batilda made regent during the minority of her son—Members of the court renowned for their wisdom and piety—Assassination of a prelate, and the retirement of Batilda to the abbey of Chelles	57
CHILDERIC II. Ligur appointed prime minister—Childeric takes a dislike to him—He is sent into confinement at the monastery of Luxeuil—His friend Hector is put to death—The massacre of Childeric, his wife and infant, at his country-seat at Livri near Chelles	60
THIERRI I. Ligur recalled from confinement—Election of mayor—Murder of Leudesie—Treasury plundered and churches pillaged by the Austrasians—Ligur again forced into retirement and his brother stoned to death—The battle of Testris gained by Austrasians, &c.	63
CLOVIS III. Short reign of four year—Cope of St. Martin, a standard carried before the army in battle—Death of Clovis, &c.	66
CHILDEBERT II. Succeeds his brother—Regency and mayoralty of Pepin—Christianity of Childebert, &c.	68
DAGOBERT II. Kept in seclusion during his minority—Death of Pepin—Birth of the celebrated Charles Martel, &c.	70
CLOTAIRE IV. Translation of Clotaire from the throne of Austrasia to that of France—His ill health and death	72
CHILPERIC II. His ascension to the throne—Battle of Vinchy, and sudden death	73
THIERRI II. Proclaimed King of Paris, Burgundy, and Austrasia—Decisive battle with the Saracens—Institution of the Order of the <i>Genet</i> , &c.	75
INTERREGNUM. Lasts five years—Death of Charles Martel—Birth of Charlemagne, &c.	77
CHILDERIC III. Council of Pope Zachary—Carloman embraces a religious life—Childeric descends from the throne—Retires to the monastery of Sithieu	79
PEPIN. Coronation—Defeat of the Saxons—War against the Lombards—His skill in the arena, &c.	81
CHARLEMAGNE. New monarchy raised on the ruins of Lombardy, styled the kingdom of Italy—Death of two sons—His counsels to his son and successor, &c.	85
LOUIS I. Proclaimed king and emperor—Conspiracy detected—Conspirators put to death—Marriage of Louis—Domestic affliction—Repudiation of his wife, &c.	89
CHARLES II. Empire divided—Charles crowned king—Mediation of Abelard, and his death by poison	94

	PAGE
LOUIS II. Coronation—Peace with Germany—Death, supposed by poison	99
LOUIS III. AND CARLOMAN. Coronation—Intrigues of Boson—Death of Louis—Carloman sole King of France—His death by a javelin, &c.	101
CHARLES THE FAT. Charles receives the homage of the nobles—Sigefroy's fleet in the Seine—A furious attack on Paris, then but a small island—Death of Count Henry—Charles resigns the reins of government to Ludard, Bishop of Verceil—Banishment of the bishop—Reputation of the queen, &c.	104
EUDES. Elected king—Appointed guardian to the infant heir—Abdicates in favor of Charles, &c.	108
CHARLES III. Apology of the archbishop—Charles returns from exile to the throne—Death of Eudes—France harassed by Rollo, a Dane—Marries the daughter of Charles—His conversion to Christianity—Charles taken prisoner, and sent into confinement at Peronne, where he died	110
RODOLPH. Selected by the nobles and proclaimed king—His turbulent reign, &c.	114
LOUIS IV. Called to the throne—Interference of bishops—Assassination of William of Normandy—Leaves one son, Richard, whom Louis places in safety—Richard is preserved by Osman, who conveys him away in a truss of hay—Louis pursues a wolf—Injured by a fall, which causes his death	115
LOTHAIRE. Crowned at Rheims—A peace which lasts several years—Associates his son Louis with the throne	119
LOUIS V. Hugh Capet guardian to the young prince—Emma, his mother, regent, but from improprieties soon driven from her station—Premature death of Louis, supposed by poison—End of Carlovingian race	121
HUGH CAPET. Situation of the kingdom—Proper names—Crowned at Rheims—Siege of Poitiers—Character of Hugh, &c.	123
ROBERT. Intrigues of a pontiff—Attempts to annul the marriage of Robert—Is excommunicated—Robert submits and marries Constance of Provence—Insurrection at Melun—Execution of Gautier and wife—Peace and prosperity for many years	127
HENRY I. Constance attempts the deposition of Henry in favor of her son Robert—The nobles supply her with forces—Henry escapes—The queen dies, and Henry enjoys a tranquil reign—Dies by medicine improperly administered, &c.	130
PHILIP I. Revolt of the Gascons—The conquest of England at this time—Bloody contests in France—Philip is divorced from his queen—Marries Emma of Sicily—Crusades against the infidels commenced—Death of Philip—His character, &c.	133
LOUIS VI. Coronation at Orleans—His marriage—Accommodation between William of England and Louis accomplished by Pope Calixtus the Second—Loss of the White Ship, with Prince William of England, and numbers of nobility both of France and England—Admonition of Louis to his son	137
LOUIS VII. Theological disputes—Doctrine of Abelard—His death—A crusade proposed and preached by Bernard—Louis arrives at Constan-	

	PAGE
tinople on his way to the Holy Land—Attacks the Turks and defeats them—Louis pursued by a band of Saracens—Defends himself by climbing a tree—Sails for Jerusalem—Dies by apoplexy	142
PHILIP II. Internal regulation of dominions—Intelligence from the Christians in Palestine—War with England—Interview between Richard of England and Philip—Swear friendship to each other, and mutual assistance during another crusade—Decisive battle with the Saracens—Death of Philip—His eulogy	146
LOUIS VIII. Coronation at Rheims—Marches against Avignon—Capitulations—Dies at Montpenser	150
LOUIS IX. Queen Blanche regent—Louis commences another crusade to the Holy Land, with an army of thirty-nine thousand men—Battle with the Saracens—Conquers—Returns to France—Plans another crusade—Sails for Tunis—Half the army destroyed by a pestilential disorder—Death of Louis by the same disease, &c.	152
PHILIP III. Arrangement with the King of Tunis—Expenses of the war paid by the King of Tunis—Death of Philip's son—The queen accused of the murder by poison—Application to a nun—The queen declared innocent, and her accuser executed	155
PHILIP IV. Coronation at Rheims—Dispute between two seamen—England and France at war in consequence—Difficulties settled by Pope Boniface—Double marriage—Death of Philip	158
LOUIS X. Europe in commotion—Treasury exhausted—Embezzlement—Debasement of the coin—Charges against Marigny—Executions for supposed witchcraft—Innocence of Marigny—Death of Louis, &c.	161
PHILIP V. Uniformity of coin, weights and measures established—Private mints abolished—Death of Philip, &c.	166
CHARLES IV. Divorced from his wife—Marries Mary of Luxembourg—Death of Mary and third marriage with Jane of Evreux—Dispute between Charles and the King of England—Dispute settled—Death of Charles, the last of Valois	167
PHILIP VI. Arbitrator between Jane of Navarre and the King of England—Battle with the Flemings—Nineteen thousand killed, only seventeen French, &c.	169
JOHN. Crowned at Rheims—Invasion of Normandy by Duke of Lancaster—Severe battle—John taken prisoner—Carried to London—Remains there two years—Peace concluded—John returns to Paris—Afterwards to London—Dies there, &c.	174
CHARLES V. Castle of Roubois reduced by Du Guesclin—War for the space of sixteen years—Commencement of Royal Library—Improvement in clocks—Several new inventions—Laws and customs of the French	183
CHARLES VI. Seizure of treasures of the late king—Revolt among the populace—Signs of approaching insanity—Charles becomes insane—Provides for the safety of the kingdom, &c.	186
CHARLES VII. Joan of Arc applies for permission to command the army—She is believed to be bewitched—Consent is given—She assumes her	

	PAGE
position—Marches upon Orleans—Surrender to her of six cities and towns—Joan conducts her sovereign to Rheims, where he is crowned—Joan taken prisoner and burnt at the stake, and her ashes thrown into the Seine	190
LOUIS XI. Public entry into Paris—Truce with Margaret of Anjou—Tumultuous reign—Louis addresses his son, &c.	195
CHARLES VIII. Pursues his studies—Henry of England lands at Calais—War averted by large sums of money—Matters adjusted—Henry returns to his kingdom—Charles receives a blow which causes his death, &c.	197
LOUIS XII. Orleans race commences—Crowned at Rheims—Divorces his wife Jane, on account of deformity—Marriage with Anne of Brittany—Her death—Marries Mary, Princess of England—A tranquil reign—Dies lamented by his subjects	201
FRANCIS I. Race of Angouleme—Crowned at Rheims—Crosses the Alps—Battle of Marignano—His son Charles, with four thousand men, killed	204
HENRY II. Two marriages—Discord between France and Spain terminated—Grand tournament—The king wounded—Causes his death, &c.	206
FRANCIS II. Cardinal Lorraine's wicked report—Execution of persons for plots against the government—Prince de Conde confined—Death of Francis after a reign of one year	209
CHARLES IX. Catherine de Medicis assumes the regency—Prince de Conde liberated—Wars between the Catholics and Protestants—The massacre of St. Bartholomew—Charles amuses himself at his forge, &c.	211
HENRY III. Quits Poland and arrives in France—Crowned at Rheims—Death of Catherine de Medicis in her seventieth year—Murder of Henry by James Clement, a Jacobin friar—Death of the friar by two of the guards, &c.	214
HENRY IV. Invincible Armada commenced—Henry maintains the Catholic faith—Is crowned at Rheims—Attempt on his life by a Jesuit—The assassin executed and all Jesuits compelled to leave the kingdom—Henry marries Mary de Medicis—Is stabbed in his carriage by Francis Ravallac, &c.	216
LOUIS XIII. Mary de Medicis assumes the guardianship of her son—Luines tutor to Louis—Murder of the Mareschal of Ancre—Mary ordered into exile—Escapes to Flanders—Duke of Orleans seeks shelter at the court of Lorraine, &c.	220
LOUIS XIV. Anne, widow of Louis, and the Cardinal Mazarin—Independence of Portugal—Louis enters Flanders with forty thousand men—Domestic calamity—Death of four members of the royal family—Character of Louis	225
LOUIS XV. Duke of Orleans regent—Cardinal Dubois prime minister—Death of the Duke of Orleans—Proposed marriage of Louis by the regent—Opposition to the marriage—The intended bride returned to her native country—Cardinal Fleury's administration—Removal of Countess Du Barre, favorite of Louis—His death, &c.	228

	PAGE
LOUIS XVI. Accession to the throne—Monkish appearance—Discontent among his subjects—Unpopularity of his queen—His impeachment, trial and execution—Execution of General Custine—Trial, charges, conviction and execution of the queen	231
LOUIS XVII. Birth—Confinement in prison—Placed under the care of a shoemaker—Treatment and death, &c.	239
NAPOLEON. Birth—Education—Preferments—Consulships—Marriage with Josephine—Repudiation—Marriage with Maria Louise—Birth of a son—Entry into Moscow—Abdication—Embarks for Elba—Returns to France—Battle of Waterloo—Submits to the English—Sent to St. Helena—Death, &c.	240
LOUIS XVIII. Flight from Paris—Refusal to abdicate in favor of Napoleon—Retires to England—Studies Roman Classics—Presidency of Talleyrand—Louis returns to France—Forms his cabinet from the old Nobility of France—Enjoyed the crown of France nine years—Death, &c.	243
CHARLES X. Education—Titles—Distress—Sale of jewels, &c.—Retires to England—Pension from the English government—Returns to France—On the death of his brother is made king—Public entry into Paris—His coronation—Unpopular administration of Prince Polignac—Charles abdicates the throne—Retires to Scotland—Death, &c.	246
LOUIS PHILIP. Education—Commission in the army—Travels through Switzerland—Professor at the College of Richenau—Emigration to the United States—Death of his brothers—His return—Visit to his mother at Mahon—Marriage at Palermo—Abdication of Charles—Invitation to the French throne—Children, &c.	249

SOURCES UPON WHICH THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE MEDALLIC PORTRAITS IS FOUNDED.



PHARAMOND.	From an engraving in the <i>Promptuaire des Médailles</i> , (a work published at Lyons in 1553, containing portraits of all the French Kings up to that time.)
CLODION.	From the same.
MEROVEE.	From an engraving in the Royal Library.
CHILDERIC I.	From a portrait on a ring found in his tomb.
CLOVIS I.	From his statue, St. Genevieve du Mont.
CHILDEBERT I.	From his statue, Abbey of Nancy.
CLOTAIRE I.	From his statue in the subterranean Church of Saint Medard des Soissons.
CARIBERT.	From a statue on his tomb at Blaye.
CHILPERIC I.	From his statue at St. Germain des Pres.
CLOTAIRE II.	From the same.
DAGOBERT I.	From his statue in the Church of Saint Denis.
CLOVIS II.	From the same.
CLOTAIRE III.	From an engraving in the Cabinet of Louis the Thirteenth.
CHILDERIC II.	From his statue at St. Germain des Pres.
THIERRI I.	From his statue in the Abbey of St. Waast, at Arras.
CLOVIS III.	From a portrait in the cab. of Louis Thirteenth.
CHILDEBERT II.	From the same.
DAGOBERT II.	From the statue on his tomb at Nancy.
CLOTAIRE IV.	From the <i>Promptuaire des Médailles</i> .
CHILPERIC II.	From his statue in the Church of Noyon.
THIERRI II.	From a seal, A. D. 736, preserved at St. Denis.
CHILDERIC III.	From an engraving in the works of Montfaucon.
PEPIN.	From a seal, A. D. 760, preserved at St. Denis.
CHARLEMAGNE.	From his statue at Aix-la-Chapelle.

LOUIS I.	From an engraving in the Cabinet of Cotignon.
CHARLES II.	From a portrait in a MS. Bible in the Royal Library written during his reign.
LOUIS II.	From a seal preserved at St. Denis.
LOUIS III. AND CARLOMAN. }	From their statues at St. Denis.
CHARLES THE FAT.	From cabinet of Louis Thirteenth.
EUDES.	From the same.
CHARLES III.	From a portrait on a rent-roll in favor of St. Germain.
RAOUL.	From a seal, A. D. 931, preserved at St. Denis.
LOUIS IV.	From his statue at St. Remy.
LOTHAIRE.	From his portrait at St. Remy.
LOUIS V.	From a seal at St. Denis.
HUGH CAPET.	From a seal preserved at St. Maur-les-Fosses.
ROBERT.	From a seal 1026, at St. Germain des Pres.
HENRY I.	From his statue at St. Denis.
PHILIP I.	From the same.
LOUIS VI.	From a seal A. D. 1122, at the Abbey de la Victoire near Senlis.
LOUIS VII.	From his statue at St. Denis.
PHILIP II.	From his statue at the Abbey de la Victoire.
LOUIS VIII.	From an illuminated picture of the times preserved in the Royal Library.
LOUIS IX.	From his bust in the Royal Museum.
PHILIP III.	From a statue at St. Denis.
PHILIP IV.	From the same.
LOUIS X.	From a statue at St. Denis.
PHILIP V.	From a statue on his tomb, at St. Denis.
CHARLES IV.	From a portrait in the MSS. of Froissard.
PHILIP VI.	From a fresco painting in the Church De la Chartreuse de Bourfontaine.
JOHN.	From a portrait in the Royal Library.
CHARLES V.	From a portrait in a MS. preserved, in the court of accounts, Paris.
CHARLES VI.	From a portrait in possession of Froissart.
CHARLES VII.	From a statue at St. Denis.
LOUIS XI.	From an ancient medal in Royal Library.
CHARLES VIII.	From his portrait by Leonardo de Vinci.
LOUIS XII.	From a medal in the Cabinet of Antiquities.

FRANCIS I.	From a painting by Titian.
HENRY II.	From his bust in Royal Museum.
FRANCIS II.	From a medal in the mint of France.
CHARLES IX.	From a medal in honor of his majority, A. D. 1564.
HENRY III.	From a medal in the mint of France.
HENRY IV.	From a medal by G. Dupré, 1603.
LOUIS XIII.	From the same, 1623.
LOUIS XIV.	From medal of 1667.
LOUIS XV.	From a medal by Du Vivier.
LOUIS XVI.	From a medal by Dupré, 1786.
LOUIS XVII.	From portrait from nature.
LOUIS XVIII.	From portrait from nature.
NAPOLEON.	From portrait from nature.
CHARLES X.	From portrait from nature.
LOUIS PHILIP.	From a painting in the Louvre.

The monarchy of France dates from Pharamond in 420, and is divided into seven lines or races including Louis XVII., (who never reigned,) and Napoleon, making 72 Sovereigns from 420 to 1839, a period of 1419 years.

MEROVINGIAN RACE.

1. Pharamond.
2. Clodion
3. Merovee.
4. Childeric I.
5. Clovis I.
6. Childebert I.
7. Clotaire I.
8. Caribert.
9. Chilperic I.
10. Clotaire II.
11. Dagobert I.
12. Clovis II.
13. Clotaire III.
14. Childeric II.
15. Thierry I.
16. Clovis III.
17. Childebert II.
18. Dagobert II.
19. Clotaire IV.
20. Chilperic II.
21. Thierry II.
22. Childeric III.

25. Louis I.
26. Charles II.
27. Louis II.
28. Louis III.
29. Charles the Fat.
30. Eudes.
31. Charles III.
32. Raoul.
33. Louis IV.
34. Lothaire.
35. Louis V.

CAPETIAN RACE.

36. Hugh Capet.
37. Robert.
38. Henry I.
39. Philip I.
40. Louis VI.
41. Louis VII.
42. Philip II.
43. Louis VIII.
44. Louis IX.
45. Philip III.
46. Philip IV.
47. Louis X.
48. Philip V.
49. Charles IV.

CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

23. Pepin.
24. Charlemagne.

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PHARAMOND.

A. D. 420.] From the numerous French historians it is singular we should learn so little of the history of their first Christian king. The Abbé Velly, considered the best French historian, and whose works are generally consulted in this compilation, informs us that the erection of that nation into a monarchy took place during the reign of Pharamond, but continued unsettled till the reign of Clovis, about sixty years after, when it appears to have received its firm basis. With Pharamond commenced the Merovingian race or line including twenty-two kings, so called from the first Merovee or Meroveus, the father of Pharamond. Agathias says that with the conversion of this king, civilization may be said to have commenced. He was converted to Christianity and baptized by Archbishop Goudebald at Amiens. Their religion heretofore had been as simple as their manners. The sun, the moon, fire, trees, and rivers were their deities. Their love of arms was visible even in the education of their children; at an early age they taught them the use of warlike instruments, such as the sling, the mallet, the javelin, the battle-axe, and other similar weapons. Most of the French writers agree that to this king is ascribed the institution of the *salique law*, which contains an article excluding females from the monarchy of France. This clause appears to have been well discussed by the great men of the kingdom, who unanimously decided, that women were incompetent to preside at the head of so great a nation. Of the seventy-one articles this celebrated law contained, the above is the only one unrepealed at the present day. In the year 420, Pharamond crossed the Rhine, and at the head of an army of Franks surprised and pillaged the city of

Treves; after this, his first conquest, he was lifted up on a shield exposed to the sight of his whole army, and amid their shouts and acclamations, acknowledged as chief of their nation—the only mode of inauguration known to the ancient inhabitants of Gaul. Pharamond had two sons, Clodion, who succeeded him, and Clenus who died young. All writers who make mention of him at all, pronounce him amiable and kind-hearted, undaunted but not cruel; he reigned eight years, and died lamented by a nation he had so much improved.

CLODION.

A. D. 428.] Clodion, surnamed the Hairy, from the long flowing tresses he wore, succeeded his father Pharamond.

His reign was turbulent and unhappy; he had scarcely ascended the throne, when a Roman army of great strength marched against him, and entirely dispossessed him of his new Gaulic dominions, compelling him to repass the Rhine. His young and buoyant heart throbbed for revenge; he accordingly marched into Thuringia, committing much devastation, and destroying the magnificent castle of Dispurg.

This exasperated the Roman General Etius, who advanced against him a second time, and after subduing him in a severe battle in which much blood was shed on both sides, offered him a flag of truce rather than risk another contest with a nation which to defeat seemed only to invigorate. Clodion's memory still clung tenaciously to the beautiful kingdom of which he had so recently been dispossessed; brooding over his sorrows, his sole thoughts were its recovery.

In order to raise an army formidable enough for his purposes, large inducements were held out to those who were willing to join

him. Having succeeded, he determined to seize more important places in the interior of the country. Receiving information that some of the principal cities were defenceless, he surprised and defeated the few Roman troops stationed there; took Tournay, razed Cambray to the ground, and became possessor of all that beautiful country from Rheims to the river Somme. On this conquest many historians have based their assertions, that Clodion, and not Pharamond, caused France to become a monarchy, and Cambray the capital of the kingdom. Adon writes that Cambray being the centre of this late conquest, Clodion established his court there, and consequently called it the capital. Marianus Schotus, a monkish writer of those times, draws so admirable a portrait of this interesting race, that it merits a place here. "They are," says that writer, "tall in stature; their skin is very white, and their eyes are blue; their faces entirely shaved, except the upper lip, on which they suffer two small whiskers to grow; hair, cut short behind, and long before; their dress short; they wear a large girdle from whence hangs a sword that is heavy and generally very sharp. There is no nation existing so well versed in military motions and evolutions. Such is their skill, that they never fail to strike what they aim at; so prodigious their agility, that they reach the enemy almost as soon as the dart which they have thrown at him; in short, their intrepidity is such that no number of their foes, however formidable, astonishes them; or by local disadvantages, or even by death itself, when encompassed with all his horrors. They may lose their lives, but never can their courage."

The Roman General Etius, learning their untamable valor, was unwilling further to encounter a race who had as many soldiers as citizens. Historians of that age inform us that Clodion had two sons; the eldest was killed at the battle of Soissons, leaving issue Merovee, who succeeded his father to the throne.

Clodion's grief for his son was excessive, and soon put a period to a reign of twenty years, the greater part of which was spent in broils and battles with the Romans.

MEROVEE.

A. D. 448.] The history of this king has afforded much controversy among ancient historians. Gregory of Tours asserts that he was a son of Clodion, and not a grandson as before related. Priscus affirms most positively that at the death of Clodion, Merovee, fearing the jealousy of his father's brother, who laid claim to the crown, implored the assistance and protection of Attila, King of the Huns; he even tells us that he saw him at Rome. He was, says Priscus, a youth of comely form, and fair to look upon, his fair hair flowing gracefully over his well-made form; he became the adopted son of Etius, the Roman general, and resided many years under his protection. Merovee distinguished himself in the Roman army at the celebrated battle between Etius and Attila, from which circumstance it is believed the Franks were determined to give him the throne to which he was the rightful heir. He was accordingly inaugurated before his army in the plains of Chalons, in Champagne. Merovee had many good and great qualities; he was attached to men of letters, sought their society, and loaded them with honors.

He removed them from the chair of eloquence, to fill the first offices of state. During the short reign of this king, the arts and sciences were encouraged, several distinguished academies founded, and Christianity purged of many of its errors.

This illustrious and virtuous prince died after a reign of ten years, leaving one son, Childeric, his successor.

CHILDERIC THE FIRST.

A. D. 458.] Saint Genevieve gives a short but interesting account of this romantic reign, signalized by so many adventurous exploits. Childeric claims a position hitherto unread in the annals of his country. In his infancy, a conspiracy was planned by Attila, to steal and carry him into captivity, which was accordingly attempted by some soldiers of his army; after traveling nearly two hundred miles he was rescued from their hands by a few valiant Franks, and returned to his throne and his people.

This, however, was of short duration, for at the age of eighteen he was deprived of his throne by a conspiracy among his nobles, and compelled to retire to Germany. During the banishment of this prince, at a general assembly of Franks, the crown was placed on the head of Egidius, a general of the Roman forces in Gaul. This singular choice proved to be temporary, for the conduct of Egidius soon estranged the affections of his subjects, who seriously regretted the exile of their lawful prince, and determined upon recalling him. Wiomald, a friend and faithful adherent to Childeric, on hearing of the dissensions and dissatisfaction of the subjects of Egidius, took advantage of the ascendancy he possessed over the mind of the new monarch to advise him to such measures as soon rendered him odious to the nation.

A. D. 464. It was now determined that Childeric should be recalled; his faithful friend and subject Wiomald, ever attentive to the interests of his liege, sent him the half of a piece of gold, that they had broken at their separation; which was understood by Childeric to be a signal for his return to Gaul. He

accordingly left Germany, made his appearance in Gaul, and for the third and last time ascended the throne of his ancestors. Gregory of Tours relates a remarkable and singular event which followed. The Queen of Thuringia, like the memorable Helen, left the king, her husband, to follow and share the fortunes of this second Paris. "Did I know," said she, "a greater hero, or a more gallant man than you, I would follow him to the ends of the earth." Childeric, allured by the excessive beauty and sensibility of this singular woman, married her, to the great displeasure of all virtuous men, who in vain insisted on the sacred vows of matrimony, and the inviolable laws of friendship. From this alliance sprung the great Clovis.—A. D. 465. Childeric was considered the most accomplished man in his dominions; he was endued with wit and great courage, but possessing a warm and generous heart, he was too susceptible of love and admiration, the former accelerating his premature destruction. During his reign Childeric had been looked upon by the Romans with an eye of jealous revenge, but anxious to recover the esteem of his subjects, he collected his army and advanced into the heart of Gaul, pillaged their towns, and killed with his own hands the Roman general, and made himself master of Paris.

He died soon after this (A. D. 481) in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried in a spot of ground which is now enclosed in the city of Tournay. In the year 1653, the tomb of this eccentric prince was discovered, containing some human bones tolerably perfect, proving him to have been a tall and stout man. Also in the tomb were found a skeleton of a horse, a crystal glass, several curious pieces of gold, an ox's head, medals of different emperors, and a number of rings, on one of which is a seal, bearing the impression of a man of great beauty, holding a javelin in his hand. On the exergue is engraved the name of Childeric in Roman letters.

A part of these curiosities are still preserved in the Royal Library at Paris.

CLOVIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 481.] The multitude of petty kingdoms subsisting in Gaul at this time, forms, says an illustrious historian, one of the greatest difficulties in the ancient history of France. In a manuscript work, still preserved in the king's library at Paris, it is imputed to the disorders which prevailed after the expulsion of Childeric, when such as were sufficiently powerful took advantage of the anarchy in which the nation was involved, to establish independent monarchies of their own. Clovis ascended the throne at the age of fifteen, and at the early age of twenty began to show his jealousy towards those whom he considered usurpers of his territories. His courtiers, ever ready to fan into a flame the spark they had discovered in the breast of their master, incited him to challenge Syagrius, a Roman who still had possession of Soissons, and a part of the adjacent country.

The challenge was accepted by this self-made prince, and a bloody battle was the result. Syagrius saved himself by flight, taking refuge among the Visigoths; but Allaric, then king, fearing the threats of Clovis, delivered the refugee into his power who caused him to be beheaded. Clovis had now enjoyed several years of uninterrupted tranquillity, when Basinus, King of Thuringia, made a sudden irruption into that part of the dominions of Clovis, situated beyond the Rhine. Clovis was no sooner informed of this invasion, than he assembled his army, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waste with fire and sword, and imposed a perpetual tribute on the offending monarch.

Clovis now bent his thoughts on the formation of an alliance by marriage, with some of the neighboring princes. He accord-

ingly dispatched his ambassadors to the King of Burgundy, asking for the hand of the Princess Clotildis, his niece, the accounts of whose extraordinary piety and beauty had made a deep impression on his heart.

The court of Burgundy, fearful of offending a young and powerful prince, whose arms had hitherto been everywhere victorious, complied with his request.

A. D. 493.] Great preparations were made for the departure of the queen elect, and she began her journey in a kind of wagon, called a *basterne*, drawn by oxen, which was the most elegant vehicle then in use.

The marriage was celebrated at Soissons, amid the joyful acclamations of the people.

Heaven smiled on this propitious union; Clotildis became mother of a prince, who received baptism, with the king's consent, and was named Ingomer. The subsequent death of this child, on whom Clovis had so firmly set his affections, inspired him, notwithstanding the prayers and remonstrances of his affectionate and pious princess, with an aversion to the Christian religion. He was prevailed on, however, to suffer his second son to undergo the ceremony of baptism. He also was attacked with a severe indisposition, but the prayers of this pious woman were heard and answered, the young prince restored to health, and the anxiety of his father dispelled. The conversion to Christianity of Clovis, soon after this, is thus related by historians:—The Germans had commenced preparing for incursions into the dominions of Clovis; he, being apprized of their intentions, hastened to impede their progress, and met them on the plains of Tolbiac, not far from Cologne, where a bloody battle was fought.

Clovis, perceiving that the strength of his army was diminishing, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and exclaimed, "God of my Queen Clotildis, grant me victory, and I here vow to worship none other than you." He immediately rallied his yielding forces, again led the charge, pierced with irresistible ardor the enemy's battalions, and entirely put them to flight.

He then followed them into Germany, where he dispersed the remains of the vanquished army, reduced to obedience a nation hitherto invincible, and compelled them to pay him an annual tribute. Faithful to his vow, he requested to be made acquainted with the mysteries of the Christian religion; and on Christmas day, 496, received baptism at the church of St. Martin, in Paris, from Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, a prelate equally distinguished for his birth and piety. His sister Albofléda, and about three thousand of his subjects, followed his example. An improbable legend prevails, that during the ceremony of the baptism of Clovis, a dove descended from Heaven, bringing a phial of balsam, with which he was consecrated.

This is what is now called *La Sainte Ampoule*, the Holy Phial; which is kept with extreme care, and contains the oil used by the monarchs of France at their coronation. The conversion of Clovis had not repressed his warlike ambition.

Brabant, the country of Liege, and that part of Flanders which was situated on the sea coast, had not yet submitted to the new conqueror of Gaul.

The most considerable of these small states were the Arborici, a Christian nation, firmly attached to the Christian religion, and thence maintained an enmity against the French, who were Pagans. But the recent conversion to Christianity of Clovis, and so many of his subjects, diminished the aversion of the people of this peaceful nation; they were induced to consent to an alliance with him, acknowledge him for their sovereign, and become subjects of the French kingdom. The Roman garrisons following the example, capitulated, and gave up all the places that were still in their possession, towards the ocean, and on the banks of the Rhine.

Clovis did not as yet consider his victories complete; the conquest of Brittany was soon followed by that of Allaric, King of the Visigoths. Before the French set out on this latter expedition, they made a vow not to shave themselves till they had subdued their enemies. Vows of this kind were very common at

that period. It was the custom of those times to draw an omen from the verse that was chanting, when a person entered the church. The king's envoys, at their entrance into the church of St. Martin, heard these words from the Psalms,—“Thou hast endued me with strength for the wars; thou hast supplanted those that had risen up against me; and hast put mine enemies to flight.” This fortunate prognostic was confirmed on the banks of the Vienne. The army was at a loss where to pass that river, when a hind plunged into the stream in sight of the whole camp, and showed them a ford which still retains the name of the *passage of the hind*.

The two armies met in the plains of Vouille, near Poitiers. Soon after the commencement of the battle, the monarchs of either nation perceiving each other, rushed forward at the same instant, and engaged in single combat; when the superior skill and strength of Clovis decided the victory in his favor; he dismounted his adversary, and slew him on the spot. Nothing now remained to impede the progress of the conqueror, who extended his empire from the banks of the Loire to the Pyrenean mountains. Clovis then withdrew to Paris, and fixed his residence in a palace in the southern part of the capital, which had formerly been inhabited by the emperors Julian and Valentinian the First. Success had hitherto attended all the plans of Clovis, and allowing for the ferocious and martial spirit which then prevailed, he had preserved his fame from any material pollution.

The assembling of the council of Orleans was the last remarkable event of the reign of Clovis, who died the same year, A. D. 511, at the age of forty-five, and was buried in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which he had caused to be built. It has been a subject of dispute with historians, whether the military or the political talents of this prince were the most eminent. Gaul, subdued by his arms, preserved by his prudence, affords a proof that he was equally skillful in the cabinet and formidable in the field.

CHILDEBERT THE FIRST.

A. D. 511.] Clovis left four sons, who divided the kingdom into four equal parts, and then drew lots for them. Childebert was the third son, but Paris being the lot drawn by him, and that city having long since been considered the capital of the French empire, it has been usual only to rank such as have reigned in that city among the Kings of France ; (and as it has been observed before) to this custom we shall conform throughout the present work. The dominions of Childebert extended along the sea coast from Picardy to the Pyrenean mountains. The dominions of Thierry, who was King of Metz, comprehended the country of the Albigenes, Rouergue, Auvergne, all the frontiers of Provence and Languedoc, Champagne, and the electorates of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne.

Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, formed those of Clodomir, who was King of Orleans. Clotaire, who was King of Soissons, possessed less extensive dominions than his brothers ; they comprehended all that country between Champagne, the Isle of France, Normandy, the ocean, and the Scheldt. But though these four states were governed by different princes, independent of each other, they were all subject to the same laws, and formed but one monarchical body. The princes and nobles of the four kingdoms assembled together at Paris, the capital, from time to time, where they settled the general affairs of the nation, and decided such suits of law as concerned the empire, either by the importance of the object of dispute, or by the quality of the parties. The first four years of the reign of these princes were neither disturbed by foreign war or domestic commotion.

A. D. 523.] Sigismund, King of Burgundy, having unjustly detained possessions, the property of Clotildis, mother to the three princes, Thierry, Clodomir, and Clotaire, they declared war against him, seized his dominions, and after having overcome him in a pitched battle, caused him, his wife and children to be massacred, and thrown into a well—a punishment but too frequent in those barbarous times. Gondemar, brother to the murdered monarch, re-entered Burgundy, and re-took the kingdom, when Clodomir, King of Orleans, assisted by Thierry his brother, advanced against him, and defeated his army at Vesperonce, in the neighborhood of Vienne. But his extreme eagerness in pursuing the enemy, carrying him too far into the country, Clodomir was surprised by a party of Burgundians, who attacked and slew him.

Thus perished the youthful Clodomir, in the midst of victory. Some years after, his three brothers revenged his death by the entire conquest of Burgundy, which they divided between them. This monarchy had been founded one hundred and twenty years at the period of its re-union to the kingdom of France. Clodomir left three sons, brought up under the care and inspection of their virtuous grandmother, where they would undoubtedly have enjoyed that felicity, every essential requisite for which they possessed, but for the cruelty and ambition of their uncles.

These princes having, by artifice, got their nephews into their power, immediately threw off the mask of affection which they had hitherto worn, and sent a sword and a pair of scissors to Clotildis, the guardian of their youth. That princess, in a transport of grief, inconsiderately exclaimed, that she would rather see them committed to the earth, than shut up in a convent. Her words were but too faithfully reported to Clotaire, who, seizing the eldest, then only in his eleventh year, dashed him to the ground, and plunged a poniard into his breast; the youngest, affrighted, threw himself at the feet of Childebert, exclaiming “save me, dearest uncle! save me!” The monarch was deeply affected, and could not restrain his tears; but Clotaire, reproaching him with his weakness, tore the child from his arms, and murdered

him on the body of his brother; the third had the good fortune to escape the fury of this barbarian; he spent some years in obscurity under the protection of friends of his father, then retiring to a convent devoted his life to the service of his God, and is at present invoked under the name of Saint Cloud.

At this time incursions were made into the kingdom of Metz, by Cochiliac, a Danish prince: Thierri was obliged to send a considerable army, which he entrusted to his son Theodebert, then but a youth.

This young hero overtook the Danish prince just as he was going to embark his forces, which he attacked and overcame, and slew their leader with his own hand.

It appears from historians of those times, that so early as this period France had a navy, since we are told that the French fleet took that of the Danes and released all the French prisoners.

A. D. 534.] Thierri died, leaving his son Theodebert heir to the kingdom of Metz. There was nothing of mediocrity in the character of Thierri. As a king, prompt and decisive in all his undertakings; as a man, licentious and unrestrained in the gratification of his passions—never did a monarch exercise authority more absolute—never did a politician pay less regard to the laws of honor and the rights of humanity.

Already had Childebert and Clotaire adopted measures for dismembering the succession of Thierri, and were preparing to enforce them, when the young prince hastened to Metz, and by presenting himself to his subjects, defeated the perfidious schemes of his uncles.

Being anxious to become the favorite of his subjects, he caused medals to be made, on which he was represented not only with all the marks of imperial dignity, but with the appellation of "Lord," and "August." He had laid many plans and schemes which were never brought to maturity; this prince, the most accomplished of all the descendants of Clovis, died from the accidental fall of a tree. Beneficent, humane, and alive to the miseries of his people, he had nothing of that ferocity in his disposition which

dishonors the memory of his grandfather, his father and his uncles. Adored by his subjects, courted by his neighbors, and feared by his enemies, never did a monarch more ably maintain the dignity of his crown. During the last ten years of his life, Childebert had suffered both in body and mind from the commotions caused by the jealousy of his brother: this, and the murder of his nephews, appeared at times almost to deprive him of reason. He died in the forty-seventh year of his reign, and his loss was severely felt by every class of his people.

The nobility lost a chief, the affability of whose manners, and the plenitude of whose goodness, captivated every heart; the people had to regret an equitable sovereign, who governed them with wisdom and moderation; and religion lost a protector of unbounded zeal.

A number of monasteries and hospitals, built and founded with a magnificence truly royal; a decree published by his authority for the abolition of idols, and images consecrated to the devil throughout his dominions; and four councils assembled by his order during his reign, one at Orleans, one at Arles, and two at Paris, are exhibited by historians as so many illustrious monuments of the piety of this monarch.

He was buried in the church of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Près, where his tomb is still to be seen.

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8



CLOTAIRE THE FIRST.

A. D. 558.] The King of Soissons, having survived his three brothers, now became sole monarch of all France. He experienced the insufficiency of power, however extensive, of dignity, however illustrious, to secure the mind from mortification and chagrin.

This unhappy father was obliged to take up arms against a son on whom he had in a peculiar degree bestowed his affections. This son joined the Britons and marched against his father, but during a severe contest, in which the Britons were defeated, he was sacrificed to the resentment of an offended parent. He was taken prisoner and executed on the spot by his father's orders, and the offences of the father were extended to his whole family; his wife and three children were strangled and then burnt, to satisfy the fiendish passions of Clotaire. After this victory, followed by such acts of inhumanity, Clotaire passed the remainder of his life in the deepest melancholy, sometimes bordering on distraction.

He died at Compeigne in the fifty-first year of his age, and fourth of a reign, marked by a series of actions, from the contemplation of which humanity shrinks with disgust, by adultery, cruelty, assassination, and every species of barbarous violence. It has been remarked that his death happened exactly a year after his son's execution, on the same day, and at the same hour. He was interred in the church of St. Medard, at Soissons, which he had begun, and which his son Sigebert completed. He left four sons, who succeeded to his dominions; Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert.

CARIBERT.

A. D. 562.] France was once more divided into four kingdoms, whose limits were different to those of its former divisions. But before the division was completed, a quarrel arose between the children of Clotaire. Chilperic insisted on having the capital of the empire ; and profiting by the absence of his brothers, he took possession of Braine, a country seat, where his father kept all his treasures, which he seized and distributed among the leading men of the nation ; then, placing himself at their head, he repaired to Paris, where he compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign. The other princes, enraged at this proceeding, raised troops, besieged him in his new capital, obliged him to descend from the throne he had usurped, and forced him to abide by the usual mode of decision, by drawing lots ; which proved unfavorable to him.

Caribert was accordingly proclaimed King of Paris ; Gontran, of Burgundy ; Sigebert, of Austrasia, and Chilperic, of Soissons.

This contest for the succession was no sooner terminated, than Sigebert received intelligence that the Huns or Hungarians, had made incursions into that part of his dominions which was situated beyond the Rhine. He immediately hastened to give them battle, and met them in Thuringia, where they had excited the people to revolt. A celebrated historian of those days remarks, that this young prince placed himself foremost in the ranks, and with his battle-axe, charged the enemy with an heroic intrepidity, overthrew all that came in his way, and obtained a complete victory. The victorious Sigebert now thought of forming a matrimonial connection, suitable to his birth and dignity ; with this view, he fixed on Brunehaut, Princess of the Visigoths,

who passed for the most accomplished princess of her age. The proposals were favorably received; the new queen accordingly arrived at Metz, amidst the acclamations of the people; and the marriage was celebrated with all possible magnificence. Some time after, she abjured Arianism; and her public reconciliation to the church, crowned the happiness of the king and his subjects. Chilperic, moved by the example of his brother, sent to ask the hand of Galswinda, Brunehaut's eldest sister. But a knowledge of his disposition, excited scruples in the mind of her father, which were not easily removed. By dint of solicitation, however, he at length gave his consent, but he first exacted an oath from the ambassadors, sent to solicit the hand of the princess, that no other woman should enjoy the title and dignity of queen, during the life of his daughter: this they promised by drawing and shaking their swords; which was customary with the ancient Franks, whenever they engaged themselves by oath, to observe any promise. The new queen set out from Toledo, loaded with riches, and arrived at Rouen in a round car of solid silver.

At that city her new subjects took the oath of fidelity to her; either because such was the custom of those times, or because her father had insisted on it in order to procure her greater respect from the nation. When the king married her he settled on her as her dowry, the provinces of Bordelois, Limousin, Quiercy, Bearn, and Bigorre. Although Chilperic entertained the greatest respect for the virtue of his bride, he soon permitted the flames of lawless love to rekindle in his bosom. The queen complained of his inconstancy to an assembly of the states; and the nation obliged the king to swear that he would in future be faithful to his marriage vows; but a few days after they had exacted this oath from him, Galswinda was found dead in her bed.

Fredegonda, a woman of great beauty, but who was still more vicious than handsome, was suspected of her death, and when she was seen to occupy the place and the throne of her rival, those suspicions were converted into certainty. These alliances,

so degrading to majesty, were but too common in the family of Clotaire. Caribert repudiated Ingoberga, to marry the daughter of an artizan; and she was afterwards obliged to give place to her own sister, Marcovesa, who had taken the veil. And, lastly, Theudegilda, the daughter of a simple shepherd, was raised to the first throne in the empire of France. This conduct induced Germanus, Bishop of Paris, to excommunicate Caribert. The popes had not yet interfered in these delicate matters; each prelate had absolute power in his own diocese. If any offence against religion was committed, it came under the cognizance of the bishop of the diocese. If any dispute arose on points of belief or discipline, they were determined by a national council, under the authority of the king, and if any privileges or dispensations were to be determined, this decision rested with the assembly of the bishops of the provinces. Caribert reigned six years. Gregory of Tours only speaks of his vices. But Fortunatus represents him as a prince of great prudence, moderation, and suavity of manners.

He encouraged literature and the sciences, and spoke Latin with as much fluency as his native tongue.

Zealous in his efforts to enforce a due observance of the laws, his time was wholly devoted to the purpose of promoting the happiness and tranquillity of his subjects. Ever peaceably disposed, but jealous of his power, he preserved his authority with equal dignity and firmness. This prince only left three daughters: Bertha, who married Ethelbert, King of Kent, in England, the other two took the veil at Tours, and ended their lives in a convent. His dominions were divided between his brothers, each of whom was anxious to possess Paris, but it was determined that that city should be equally subject to all the three, that neither should enter it without the consent of the other two. They confirmed this agreement by an oath; and in case of violation, submitted themselves to the malediction of God, and all the Saints.

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CHILPERIC THE FIRST.

A. D. 567.] Although Chilperic had only one-third of the kingdom, his dominions lying contiguous to the capital, historians place him among the kings of Paris. France, however, did not long enjoy the advantages that were expected to result from the late agreement between the three royal brothers. The death of Galswinda excited a civil war that seemed to threaten the destruction of Chilperic. Sigebert and Gontran, at the pressing solicitation of Queen Brunehaut, entered into a league for the purpose of inflicting vengeance on the assassin of her sister. They had seized the greatest part of his dominions, when tranquillity and concord were suddenly restored, not from motives of affection, but interest. It was stipulated by treaty that Chilperic should cede to Brunehaut those domains which had been given to Galswinda as her dower. When this dispute was settled Sigebert found himself obliged to take up arms against the Hungarians, who had renewed their depredations on the French territories beyond the Rhine. The expedition proved unfortunate.

The king, abandoned by his soldiers, was surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner. He was a prince of extraordinary prudence, and his person was peculiarly calculated to conciliate esteem: his liberality overcame those whom his arms could not subdue: the barbarians, won by his munificence, restored him to liberty, entered into an alliance with him, swore never to molest him more, and loaded him with marks of their friendship and kindness. During these transactions beyond the Rhine, the Lombards, who had recently founded a new kingdom in Italy, made

an irruption into Burgundy, defeated and slew the governor, cut the army of Gontran in pieces, and repassed the Alps with an immense booty. At this engagement an incident occurred which, at that time, was unexampled. Salonus and Sagittarius, both of them bishops, the first of Embrun, the second of Gap, changed their mitres for helmets, and charged the enemy sword in hand, with an intrepidity that in a soldier would have excited the warmest commendation, but which was universally censured in a prelate.

At this time Sigebert perished by the hand of an assassin. A prince generous, liberal and beneficent, no sovereign ever established a more extensive sway over his subjects. Intrepid in the hour of danger, and unshaken by adversity, he had the art, even in captivity, to conciliate the respect and affection of a conqueror, who scarcely possessed the appearance of humanity. In manners chaste, his inclinations conformed to his situation. Sigebert died in the forty-first year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Medard, at Soissons, where his figure may still be seen on his tomb. He is there represented with a long coat, and that species of cloak which the Romans called *chlamys*. This dress was worn by all the children of Clovis, either because they thought it had a more noble and majestic appearance, or because they considered the title of "August" as hereditary in their family. Be that as it may, long coats were, during several centuries, peculiar to persons of distinction; they were generally trimmed with martin, sabre, or ermine. Ruffs and collars were introduced by Henry the Second; till which time, most of the French monarchs had their necks entirely bare.

The short coat, which was formerly confined to the country and the camp, became fashionable during the reign of Louis the Eleventh; it was exploded in that of Louis the Twelfth; and renewed under Francis the First.

The favorite dress of Henry the Second, and his children, consisted of a close doublet, a kind of half trowsers, such as worn by the pages in Spain, and a short cloak that did not reach below

the waist. The dress of the French ladies experienced as many revolutions as that of the men. It does not appear that they bestowed much pains on the decoration of their persons, till towards the conclusion of the ninth century. Their head-dress was extremely simple, and their linen plain but fine. Lace was long unknown to them. Their gowns, which were adorned on one side with the arms of their husbands, and on the other with those of their own family, were made to sit close to the body, and so high as to entirely cover the bosom. 'The widows' dress greatly resembled that of a nun. They did not begin to expose their shoulders to sight till the reign of Charles the Sixth. During the gallant reign of Charles the Seventh, bracelets, necklaces and ear-rings were introduced. Anne of Brittany rejected with disdain all those frivolous embellishments, while Catharine de Medicis was incessantly employed in the invention of new decorations; vanity, luxury, caprice and coquetry at length carried them to the height which they have now attained. After the death of Sigebert a sudden and complete revolution commenced; Queen Brunehaut and her children were arrested, and Chilperic, imagining that an affectation of religious zeal would avert the malediction to which he had subjected himself by violating the treaty of division, made his entry into Paris accompanied by a variety of relics borne in procession. But his surprise and indignation were inexpressible, when he learned that the son and sole heir of Sigebert whom he had imprisoned, had effected his escape. Gondebald, one of the first nobles at the court of the deceased monarch, had released the infant prince from captivity. He was let down from the window of his prison in a basket, and received by a trusty person, who delivered him safe into the hands of the faithful subject of his deceased father, by whom he was conducted to Metz. The great men of the kingdom assembled on Christmas day; and Childebert who had scarcely attained his sixth year was crowned king of Austrasia. Enraged at the escape of his prisoner, and conceiving that the queen was privy to it, Chilperic sent her to Rouen, where he ordered her to be strictly guarded. His son

Merovee, a youth but in his eighteenth year, unfaithful to the orders of his father, and smitten with the beauty of Brunehaut, the widow of his assassinated uncle, repaired to Rouen and was married to her by Bishop Pretextatus. Fortunatus, indeed, represents her as a second Venus; and the particulars into which he enters on this subject, prove, either that he was not yet a bishop, or that the prelates of those days, though irreproachable, perhaps, in their manners, were not very delicate in their expressions.

Chilperic, deeply offended at the conduct of his son, repaired to Rouen with a determination to punish the new married couple, who, alarmed at his approach, took refuge in the church of Saint Martin, built on the ramparts of the city.

In vain were every artifice and every stratagem exerted to induce them to quit their asylum; they refused to leave it till they had obtained a most solemn promise, not only that no insult should be offered them, but that their marriage should be confirmed, in case the bishops should deem it necessary.

The king, after this accommodation, obliged Merovee to follow him to Soissons, and left Brunehaut his wife in her former prison, from where he soon after sent her into Austrasia.

Chilperic, on the arrival of his son in Austrasia, carried his resentment still further: had his arms taken from him, cut off his hair, and after disinheriting him, obliged him to be ordained as a priest and retire to a convent. He did not remain long, however, in his retirement, but escaping from his prison fled to the church of Saint Martin at Tours; and Chilperic, finding all his efforts to make him quit this sanctuary fruitless and unavailing, at length determined to remove him by force. He wrote on this subject to Saint Martin, whose indignation he was fearful of incurring. His letter, which was in the form of a consultation, was placed on the tomb of the saint; and the king—such were the simplicity and ignorance of those times!—had the precaution to send a piece of plain paper with it, on which he hoped the blessed pontiff would write his decision. But the saint did not honor him with an answer, and the paper being found in *statu quo*, at the expi-

ration of three days, the superstitious monarch abandoned his design.

Merovee, on his part, implored the protection of the same saint, against the rage and machinations of his father. He conjured him to point out his fate, by such passages of Scripture as he should open on by chance; but not one of them proved favorable. All, says the historian, from whom we take this account, foretold that he would die a violent death. The unhappy prince, after this fatal prediction, was a stranger to rest and tranquillity. A fugitive, wandering about the country—passing from Touraine to Austrasia, and from Champagne to Artois; abandoned by his wife, whose affection for him was sincere, but was totally unable to serve him; persecuted by his father; and betrayed by those who had sworn to espouse his cause, he was assassinated by persons in the pay of his stepmother, Fredegonda, third wife of Chilperic, his father. This queen carried her revenge still farther; she had not forgotten the affection that formerly subsisted between Pretextatus and Merovee; and she was determined to procure the deposition of that prelate. It is difficult to say, which was the most calculated to excite astonishment—the situation of the king, who appeared as his accuser, or that of the fathers, who were greatly embarrassed to find any cause for reprehension in the conduct of a bishop who had married an aunt to her nephew.

One might be tempted to conclude, either that such marriages were not prohibited by the ancient canons, or that the ecclesiastics were persuaded the ordinary had a right to grant dispensations. Our surprise is still greater when we reflect on the weakness of the party accused; who, at the instigation of some pretended friends, confessed himself guilty of crimes which he had never committed. But our astonishment is at its height, when we see the king throwing himself at the feet of the prelates, his vassals, to sue for the condemnation of one of his subjects.

He wished to have his robes torn off in full council, and to

have the maledictions contained in the 108th Psalm, repeated to him; or, at least, to have a sentence of eternal excommunication pronounced against him. But none of his requests were granted. The bishop, however, was condemned on his own confession, committed to prison, and afterwards banished.

On the death of Chilperic, he was recalled by the King of Burgundy, and reinstated in his diocese, in spite of Fredegonda, who, in revenge, had him stabbed in the midst of divine service. In consequence of this horrid murder, all the churches in Rouen were shut; the bishops, who were there, forbade the celebration of the holy eucharist, till such time as the author of that sacrilegious deed should be discovered. This is the first instance of such an interdiction in ancient days.

But the assassination of Merovee and the condemnation of Pretextatus, only served as a prelude to the enormities of Fredegonda.

Chilperic had one son by his first wife still living, Clovis, whom this cruel stepmother was resolved to sacrifice to the elevation of her own children. The means she employed were, that he should be accused with Gregory of Tours, of forming a conspiracy to assassinate his father Chilperic, make away with the children he had by Fredegonda, and place himself, Clovis, on the throne. Fredegonda, having lately lost three children by the dysentery, she bribed some persons to swear that Clovis had caused them to be poisoned. Under these accusations he was arrested, and imprisoned in the castle of Noisy, where he was soon murdered; his mother Audovera experienced a similar fate, the sacredness of her retreat being insufficient to preserve her from the rage of this female monster. Gregory, however, soon cleared himself from these odious imputations; his accusers being put to the torture, confessed that this intrigue was entirely without foundation, and was set on foot to take the life of Clovis.

The writers of those times tell us that these cruel deeds were followed by the most evident proofs of the anger of Heaven—by earthquakes, inundations, conflagrations, famine, epidemic

diseases, and a total subversion of nature, which made flowers bloom in January, and grapes ripen in December. Chilperic now began to feel the effects of a life of infamy and disgrace.

He shut himself up in Cambray, with all his treasures; he rarely appeared at the head of his army, and never undertook any expedition of importance. Having gone to pass some days at a favorite country seat called Chelles, he was stabbed on his return and expired on the spot. Fredegonda is said to have been the instigator of this horrid deed.

The fact related, and agreed to by historians of those days, is this: Chilperic visited the queen's chamber at an hour when she did not expect him. On hearing some one approach, and supposing it to be Landry, with whom she had long been suspected, she made use of some expressions which discovered the intrigue to her husband, the king. Chilperic left the room abruptly, and appeared to be involved in thought. Fredegonda sent for her lover, whom she informed of what had passed, and in order to elude the punishment he was conscious of deserving, he determined to murder his sovereign. Thus perished the Nero of the French empire, which he exposed to every kind of calamity; the executioner of his family, which he seemed intent on exterminating; and the tyrant of his subjects, whom he so loaded with taxes that they were compelled to abandon their possessions.

Every acre of vines paid a barrel of wine; a poll-tax was levied not only on every slave, but on every free person; and no kind of effects whatever was exempt from imports.

Not that these tributes were absolute innovations; the chief part of the revenues of the first kings of France consisted of provisions and effects, which were levied in the same manner as tithes are now; but Chilperic had prodigiously augmented them. He was tyrannically avaricious of money, and ostentatiously magnificent in his furniture and equipages; voluptuous even to debauchery, his incontinence knew no bounds; and if he was faithful at last to Fredegonda, his fidelity was rather the effect of

fear than of duty ; superstitious, yet impious, he scarcely believed in God, whose ministers were to him objects of incessant raillery, though his respect for Saint Martin, and his fear of offending him, were inexpressibly great. Vain, presumptuous, and rash, he dared to sound the depths of religious mysteries, and to submit them to the feeble and inadequate standard of human reason ; in consequence of which he had planned an edict to prohibit any distinction of persons in the Trinity. But the vigilant and intrepid zeal of Gregory of Tours, and of Sivin, Bishop of Albi, induced him, though not without great difficulty, to suppress it. At the death of this prince, a striking example was exhibited of the little reliance to be placed by kings on the homage of an idolatrous court. The incense of countries is offered to their rank, and not to their persons ; while adoration hangs on the lip, contempt and hatred sit enthroned on the heart. The body of Chilperic, forsaken by every one, would have remained on the spot where he was killed, but for the interference of Malulfus, Bishop of Senlis, who had it conveyed to Paris, where it was interred in the church of St. Germain des Près. He left but one son, an infant of four months, who succeeded him under the name of Clotaire. He had three wives ; Audovera, whom he repudiated ; Galswinda, found dead in her bed ; and Fredegonda, who plunged him into an abyss of crimes and enormities.

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND.

A. D. 584.] On the death of Chilperic, Fredegonda, solely relying for protection upon her infant of four months old, fled to Paris, where she was received by the bishop of the metropolis, who placed her in his church, as a retreat that would secure her from the resentment of her enemies. As a protection Fredegonda was declared regent and protectress of the young prince, who was crowned King of France. This privilege was always enjoyed by the queen dowagers. Brunehaut, under Childebert the Second; Batilda, under Clotaire the Third; Nantilda, under Clovis the Second; Alice, of Champagne, under Philip the August; Blanche of Castile, under Saint Louis; and Louisa of Savoy, under Francis the First, governed the state with absolute power, during the minority or absence of their royal children. But this custom has long since passed from the French throne.

Fredegonda, shuddering at the recollection of her crimes, detested by her subjects, whom she had oppressed without mercy; devoid of confidence in her nobles, who openly censured her conduct; pursued by Childebert, King of Austrasia, who called for justice on the assassin of a father, an aunt, an uncle, and two cousins; she wrote to Gontran, King of Burgundy, to solicit his participation in the guardianship of her son.

This prince, touched with compassion, hastened to the capital of the French empire, where he took the infant Clotaire under his protection, and openly declared himself in favor of Fredegonda against Childebert, King of Austrasia, his nephew.

After this Childebert was forbidden to enter Paris; one of his ambassadors, who had been so bold as to threaten Fredegonda

with the law of retaliation, was sent back in disgrace; and his designs on Tours and Poitiers, which had formerly belonged to his father, were frustrated. Those cities, constrained to yield to a superior force, took an oath of fidelity to Gontran, who was considered as guardian to the young monarch and head of the nation.

But the oppressive conduct of Fredegonda, and the indolence of Gontran soon interrupted the tranquillity of France. Fredegonda, whose mind was ever fertile in projects of cruelty, and who could always find assassins to put them in execution, hired two ecclesiastics to murder Childebert, King of Austrasia, with poisoned poniards.

The wretches were apprehended, and being put to the torture, confessed the crime they intended to commit. Even Gontran, the friend of Fredegonda, and the guardian and protector of her son, was not exempt from her abominable machinations. As he was going into chapel one day to matins, he surprised an assassin whom she had sent there to poniard him. Another time, as he was going to receive the sacrament, a man advanced towards him—but either from remorse of conscience, or respect for majesty, he let the poniard fall from his hand. He was immediately seized, and confessed his execrable design; but having been taken in a church, he could not be punished;—as if the right of a sanctuary could be extended to the man who violates its sacredness by the most detestable parricide!

The failure of so many diabolical attempts was insufficient to deter Fredegonda from persisting in her murderous efforts. Intrepid in evil, she appeared to acquire fresh force from disappointment, and when one project was marred, another of greater importance was immediately formed.

The death of Childebert and his mother was again resolved on; and the success of this scheme appeared the more infallible, as she had engaged three of the principal nobles of his court to join in its execution: but that prince being so fortunate as to discover the plot, the conspirators met the fate they deserved. Rau-

cingus, who called himself the natural son of Clotaire the First, was stabbed just as he had quitted the king's apartment, whither he had been summoned on pretence of business. Ursion was slain after a bold resistance, and Berthefred, though protected by Brunehaut, was murdered in a chapel whither he had fled for shelter.

Ozidius, Bishop of Rheims, was suspected of being an accomplice in this conspiracy against Childebert, but possessing the arts of intrigue and persuasion in an eminent degree, he acquired such an ascendancy over the king, that he eluded the punishment due to his crime. He, however, attempted another conspiracy soon after the first, in which he was detected, tried, and pronounced guilty; and though the crime of which he stood convicted was of the deepest dye, yet exile and confiscation formed only its punishment. The christening of the young Clotaire took place about this time, he being now six years of age, and was one of the last events of importance in the regency and reign of Gontran, who died at Chalons upon Saone, in the sixty-first year of his age. Destitute of that vigor and firmness which are essential to the enforcement of authority, the schemes of Gontran were not unfrequently marred by those whom he appointed to superintend their execution.

His disposition was rather more calculated to encourage licentiousness than to command veneration, for though he professed to love his subjects, he had not sufficient resolution to secure them from the oppression of his ministers. Gontran was fond of literature, and master of several languages.

At Orleans he was harangued in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. The death of Gontran did not appear at first to effect any material change in the French empire. Childebert, King of Austrasia, took possession of Orleans and Burgundy without opposition. His title to those territories was founded on the adoption of his uncle; on the famous treaty of Andelaw, by which the crown was settled on him, in default of male heirs; and, lastly, on the will of the deceased monarch, who left him sole

heir to all his dominions. Young Clotaire at the same time was put in possession of all his father's rights; and Soissons, which had put itself under the dominion of Childebert, was nevertheless restored to the son of Chilperic.

Childebert, no longer restrained by the fear of Gontran, now gave a free scope to his just resentment against the family of Chilperic.

The death of a father, assassinated by the emissaries of Fredegonda; the danger to which he himself had been exposed, together with the queen his mother; a thousand perfidious attempts upon his life; the doubtful circumstances attending the birth of Clotaire; ambition, interest—all excited him to attack a prince, whose death or deposition would render him sole monarch of France. Thus stimulated, he raised a powerful army, which he sent into the Soissonnois, where it committed great depredations. Fredegonda, who was never alarmed at danger, however great, had no sooner learnt that the army of Childebert had invaded the territories of her son, than she gave orders for assembling the army with the utmost expedition. Braine was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops. She reviewed them in person, running through the ranks with her son in her arms, and presenting that last relic of the family of Chilperic, reminded them of the oath they had taken to defend him; then placing herself at their head, she led them on to the enemy, whom they met at the village of Droissi, about five leagues from Soissons.

She obtained all the honor of that celebrated day, by means of a stratagem, which implies almost a total ignorance of the utility of spies in those days.

It was the custom both in peace and war, to suffer horses to graze at large, with a bell tied round their necks for the convenience of finding them again. The queen therefore ordered all her cavalry to supply themselves with small bells, and large branches of trees in full verdure; and, thus equipped, they advanced during the night, towards the camp of Childebert. The stratagem succeeded, as the Austrasians mistook them for the

horses that were feeding in the plain. The appearance of day led them into a fresh error; they thought it was a real forest, and did not perceive their mistake till Landry, who commanded under Fredegonda, had advanced so near to them, that they had not time to arrange themselves in order of battle; they were of course defeated, with a dreadful slaughter, and the victory of Fredegonda was complete.

The victory of Droissi was insufficient to quiet the apprehensions of Fredegonda, since Childebart still remained master of two-thirds of the French empire; her chief care was to increase the number of his enemies. She now made another attack on the opposite side of the kingdom of Austrasia, by engaging the King of the Varni to take up arms against the persecutor of her son. The Varni were a German nation, established on the sea coast, at the mouth of that branch of the Rhine which formerly emptied its waters into the ocean; but which now runs by Leyden, and then loses itself in the sands of Catwick.

The intrigues of Fredegonda proved the destruction of this unfortunate people; who were not only defeated by Childebart, but so completely exterminated, that their name was extinguished for ever.

Childebart did not long survive this victory. He died a few months after, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign; more regretted from the hopes which he had given rise to, than for the exploits which he had achieved. His queen died soon after. He had two children by her who succeeded him under the conduct of his grandmother, Brunehaut. The eldest, Theodebert, was crowned King of Austrasia; and the youngest, Thierri, had the kingdom of Burgundy; to which were annexed Alsace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. In this division, which had been settled by Childebart, the wishes of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alsace, were consulted, on account of their attachment to Thierri, who had been brought up amongst them, at a country seat called Marlene.

Fredegonda had now attained the summit of prosperity; a

crown procured by the splendor of her charms, and preserved by the strength of her genius; a husband restored, through her, to a throne which he had lost by his perfidy; a minority conducted with all the art of a consummate policy; a regency rendered notorious by two celebrated victories; and a new kingdom conquered and restored to her son:—all these achievements are unequivocal proofs of her vigor and talents; and proved almost sufficient to make her subjects forget that she was cruel, that she had sacrificed to her fiendish passions one great king, two virtuous queens, two heirs apparent to the throne, and an infinite number of people of inferior rank. It was at this moment of triumph and exaltation, when her arms were crowned with victory, and her projects with success, that God called her from the world; as if apprehensive that the enormity of her crimes would, in the sight of unthinking mortals, be sunk in the splendor of her exploits. She was interred near her husband, in the church of St. Germain des Près, where her tomb is now seen. The death of this formidable rival afforded leisure and opportunity to Brunehaut to establish universal tranquillity throughout her dominions. She concluded a peace with the Hungarians, who, after the death of Childebert, had invaded the Austrasian territories; she renewed the ancient treaties with the King of Lombardy; and she engaged the Pope to avert the difference which was likely to arise with regard to the valley of Aouste, and the country of Suza, which Gontran had taken from the empire. But affairs of state did not make her forget matters of religion.

The sovereign pontiff, apprized of the disposition of the English to listen to the doctrine of Christianity, which had been greatly encouraged by Bertha, daughter to Caribert the First, who married Ethelbert, King of Kent, determined to send missionaries to promote the promulgation of the Gospel. Brunehaut granted these missionaries a free passage through her dominions, sent some French papists, who understood both English and Latin, to accompany them, facilitated their journey to Canterbury, and protected them so effectually, that, according to Pope Gregory, *after*

God, England is indebted to her for its conversion to Christianity.

It was not long before the flames of war began to rage with additional fury throughout the empire of France. It is not known whether a desire to recover Paris induced Theodebert and Thierri to arm; or whether Clotaire, elated with success, endeavored to extend his conquests.

But it is certain, that this last monarch had entered upon the territories of Burgundy, before a junction had been formed between the armies of the two brothers. An action took place at a village called Dormeil, upon Quesne, near Sens, which terminated in favor of Theodebert and Thierri.

Clotaire, obliged to retreat, fled first to Melun, afterwards to Paris, till the places that he had reduced after the battle of Seufao were retaken and sacked; and he was at length compelled to sue for peace; which was granted him on very hard terms. He was obliged to cede to the King of Burgundy all the towns in his possession, which lay between the Loire, the Seine, the sea, and the frontiers of Brittany; and to the Austrasian monarch, he gave up the Duchy of Dentellenus, which comprised, according to the most probable opinion, that extent of country which is situated between the Aisne, the Oise, the Seine, and the ocean, and which nearly forms the present Isle of France.

He only preserved for himself twelve districts between the sea, and the Oise, and the Seine; by which means he was considered as a prince who had been stripped of his dominions, and was reduced to a simple appanage for subsistence.

Clotaire died soon after, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was interred at Paris, in the church of Saint Germain des Près. He had three wives, and left two sons, Dagobert and Aribert; Dagobert the eldest, succeeded him on the throne. It cannot be denied, that Clotaire possessed many good qualities.

He was certainly a valiant and brave prince; well versed in the art of governing; popular, affable, charitable to the poor, and a zealous protector of the ministers of religion.

He had banished the Bishop of Sens, for his attachment to the family of Thierri; but hearing of his piety and merit, he recalled him, and inviting him to court, there begged his pardon, placed him at his own table, and loaded him with presents. He had a cultivated mind, was fond of the Belles Lettres, and piqued himself on his politeness and gallantry.

DAGOBERT THE FIRST.

A. D. 628.] The news of Clotaire's death had no sooner reached the court of Austrasia than Dagobert exerted all the arts of a refined policy to get himself acknowledged sole king of France, to the exclusion of his brother Aribert.

He immediately dispatched into Burgundy and Neustria, such of his ministers as he knew to be most capable of insinuating themselves into the good graces of the inhabitants of those kingdoms, and of procuring their votes in his favor. This ambitious monarch did not trust entirely to intrigue; he raised a powerful army, and placing himself at its head, advanced as far as Rheims.

He there found all the Burgundian nobles and prelates, who had come for the purpose of taking the oath of fidelity to him; and their example was soon followed by the Neustrians.

Brunulf, brother to Aribert's mother, in vain attempted to oppose a resolution so hostile to the interests of his nephew; he was constrained to yield to necessity, and came with Aribert himself, to do homage to the new sovereign. This was an open violation of the laws of the realm, which had ever admitted all

the children of the French monarchs to a share in the kingdom. But, unfortunately, the most just cause is not always the most successful. The good qualities of young Aribert at length shone forth so conspicuously, that the nobles began to pity his hard fate.

The wisest members of the council, fearing that this compassion might prove fatal to Dagobert, advised that monarch to form certain provinces into a kingdom, and cede it to Aribert. He accordingly gave his brother the Toulousian, Quercy, Agenois, Perigord, Saintonge, and all that country which lies between the Garonne and the Pyrenees.

But they obliged him to renounce all pretensions to the rest of the French monarchy.

Aribert, having assumed the title of King of Aquitaine, set out immediately for his new dominions, of which Toulouse was the capital. He lived there with splendor, subdued the Gascons, who had revolted, and supported with glory the honor of royalty.

The commencement of Dagobert's reign was distinguished by the most wise and equitable measures. The kingdom of Burgundy was desolated through the oppression of the nobles, who, profiting by the timid indulgence of Clotaire, had exercised every species of tyranny over their unfortunate vassals. The new monarch repaired thither in all the pomp of majesty, and visited them, listening to the complaints of the widow and orphan, and of every one whose poverty or insignificance had rendered them most liable to oppression.

He administered strict justice to all, and every crime was punished with an inflexible severity, without any distinction of rank or station. He was loaded with the benedictions of the poor; a thousand praises were bestowed on the ministers who advised him to pursue such prudent measures; and to see a young monarch, so much occupied in discharging the duties of his office as scarcely to allow himself time to eat his meals, afforded a theme for universal admiration. But amid these acts of justice, he committed one of a very different description.

Brunulf, Aribert's uncle, to avoid giving offence, had followed Dagobert into Burgundy, where that prince caused him to be arrested, and though he had nothing to accuse him of, he basely ordered him to be put to death, and three noblemen of his court were base enough to execute his orders. The king returned to Paris, and soon after repudiated his wife, Gomatrude, under pretence of sterility, and married Nantilda, one of her maids of honor.

But even this second connection was insufficient to fix his volatile disposition.

No longer restrained by the prudent councils of Bishop Arnoul, who, wearied out by a continual repetition of ineffectual remonstrances, had at length obtained permission to retire from court, the voluptuous Dagobert, hurried away by the impetuosity of youth, gave a loose to his passions, and lived a life of licentiousness.

Impelled by vanity, rather than actuated by any desire of administering justice to the inhabitants, he resolved on a journey to Austrasia, where he displayed all the pomp and magnificence of which he was so fond; appearing everywhere in his royal vestments, attended by the chief nobles of Neustria and Burgundy.

A young Austrasian, whose name was Ragnetruide, once more gained his affections. By her he had one son, afterwards so celebrated under the appellation of Saint Sigebert.

The magnificence displayed at the court of Dagobert exceeded everything which had hitherto been seen in the French empire.

The king had a throne of solid gold; and that precious metal, with diamonds and other valuable stones, appears to have been very common among the nobles and courtiers at this period. The French were indebted for these articles of luxury, partly to their commerce with the eastern empire, and partly to their Italian conquests. The tranquillity which France had enjoyed for a length of time, which, in those days of commotion and revolt, was considered extraordinary, was now suddenly interrupted

by a merchant, formerly a subject of the Gallic monarchs, but lately promoted to the sovereignty of a powerful nation. This man, whose name was Samo, had left home in company with several of his countrymen, for the purpose of traffic with the Slavonians; a people that occupied not only that country, but also Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and a part of Bohemia. The subject of the quarrel was an insult offered to certain French merchants, who had, according to custom, gone to traffic with the Slavonians. Those barbarians, in violation of the rights of nations, had seized their merchandize, and murdered such as attempted to defend their property. Dagobert demanded reparation for the injury, but in vain,—Samo even refused an audience to his ambassadors. Dagobert at length determined to give the crown of Austrasia to his son Sigebert, who had not yet attained his fourth year; he assigned him a revenue sufficient for the support of his regal dignity, and appointed two persons to attend him, who were celebrated for their wisdom and prudence. This step was attended with all those beneficial consequences which he expected to derive from it.

The Austrasians, having now a king of their own, imagined they had recovered their ancient liberty, and prosecuted the war with vigor and effect. The Slavonians, repulsed on both sides, refrained from their depredations, and kept within the bounds of their own dominions.

But the satisfaction experienced by the Austrasians on this event was somewhat allayed by another measure of Dagobert's the following year. By the advice of St. Amand, whom he had recalled from banishment, he had restored Nantilda, whom he had repudiated, to his affections, and had a son named Clovis.

Fearing that this young prince might meet with the same injustice as Aribert, he took every precaution that prudence could inspire, to insure him the crown of France after his death. With this view, he assembled the nobles of the three kingdoms at Paris, and declared to them his intention of appointing Clovis his successor to all he now possessed; at the same time insuring to

Sigebert those provinces of which he was king, with the addition of part of Champagne, Ardennes, and Vosge.

The Austrasian nobles could with difficulty be prevailed on to consent to this division of the kingdom, but the rest of the assembly, declaring strongly in favor of it, they were compelled to withdraw their resistance, and place their seals to Sigebert's renunciation of Burgundy and Neustria. Dagobert, however, did not live long to enjoy the blessings of that peace which he had secured to his subjects. Being seized with a dysentery, at Epinay, a royal seat on the Seine, he was conveyed to Saint Denis, where he died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the church of the abbey he had so richly endowed. He had four wives: Gomatrude, whom he repudiated, and Nantilda, Wlfegonda, and Bertilda.

The division of his dominions between his two sons, which he had made during his life, was rigidly observed; Sigebert governed Austrasia, and Clovis was proclaimed King of France.

CLOVIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 638.] Dagobert, on his death-bed, recommended his Queen Nantilda and her son Clovis to the care of Aega, mayor of the palace; and the conduct of Aega showed that the confidence of his sovereign was not misplaced.

The first use he made of his power was to restore to individuals, in the name of Clovis, what the officers of the exchequer had unjustly exacted from them. One year after the death of Dagobert, an ambassador appeared at Paris to demand a division of his treasures. The request was complied with, and Aega ac-

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accompanied the ambassador to Compeigne, where the gold, silver, furniture, clothes and jewels were divided between Clovis and Sigebert. The royal family sustained a severe as well as a double loss. Pepin, a man of exalted virtues, who had been selected as the protector of Sigebert, died about this time; and Aega did not long survive him. The successors of these virtuous ministers neither possessed the same fidelity, nor the same moderation. Erchinoalde, the new mayor of Paris and protector of Clovis, governed more like a king than a minister. Among his servants was a girl of exquisite beauty, named Batilda, whom he married to the young monarch.

She was a woman of exemplary character and heroic courage. She was born in England, of a Saxon family, from whom she had been carried off when a child and sold as a slave in France. The author of her life affirms, that she was descended from illustrious parents; but as Clovis was a king and Batilda a slave, the virtue of the latter was insufficient to counterbalance the inequality of the parties in the eyes of the nation. Grimoald, the son of Pepin, aspired to the enjoyment of his father's post; and though powerfully opposed by Otho, the son of an Austrasian nobleman, who had been governor to the king, he found means to procure the assassination of this rival, and by that means obtained the object of his wishes. Only one battle is recorded in the reign of Sigebert, that of the Slavonians, in which the slaughter was immense; spreading universal consternation throughout the Austrasian army. The king's person being in danger, it was prudent to enter into a negotiation for peace.

This is the only memorable event in the reign of Sigebert, who was a good, though not an active prince; more busied in religious foundations than in military establishments: a pious monarch, but a bad politician; formed by nature for obedience rather than command. He married very young, and had one son by his Queen Innichilda, called Dagobert. The birth of this prince increased the devotion of the monarch; his whole time was devoted to works of piety. Grimoald held the reigns of govern-

ment, distributing favors as he pleased, and regulating everything according to his wishes. The king's confidence in this ambitious minister was so great, that, finding himself attacked by a dangerous disease, he recommended his son to his care. Sigebert died at Metz, and was buried in the magnificent church which he had recently built in that city, and dedicated to Saint Martin. Dagobert, his son, succeeded to the throne without opposition; but he had no sooner ascended it than he was removed from his station by an act of treason the most abominable.

The conspirators being afraid to make an attempt on his life, cut off his hair and sent him to Scotland—where he long lived in a state of obscurity—under the conduct of Didon, Bishop of Poitiers, who, though descended from Clovis, was not ashamed to undertake the infamous commission. A report was immediately spread that Dagobert was dead; and they even affected to bury him with great pomp. From a belief that Dagobert was really dead, or from ignorance of his retreat, he was not recalled.

Austrasia submitted to Clovis, who re-united for the fourth time the several kingdoms of the monarchy. The reign of Clovis, like that of his brother Sigebert, was undistinguished by any brilliant achievement. There are few kings of whom more good and more evil has been said.

A great famine happening in France at this time, Clovis, in order to procure nourishment for the poor, sold the plates of gold and silver which covered the tombs of Saint Denis and his companions.

This was a charitable action, and truly worthy of a Christian king; but, at the same time, it was an encroachment on the treasures of the monks. Clovis died in the twenty-second year of his age and fifteenth of his reign.

He was buried at Saint Denis.

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## CLOTAIRE THE THIRD.

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A. D. 656.] Clovis left three sons, Clotaire, Childeric and Thierry; the eldest of whom was proclaimed sole king, under the conduct of Queen Batilda, and of Ebroin, Mayor of Paris, who was a man of address and courage, capable of great undertakings, but cruel and ambitious.

He had the art to conceal his vices, to which he was induced through the fear of displeasing Batilda, whose wise plans he ever seconded with cheerfulness and alacrity. The regency of that princess was distinguished by its mildness, prudence, justice and virtue. The Gauls, without distinction of age or sex, paid a heavy poll-tax, which either prevented them from marrying, or subjected them to the necessity of exposing, or even selling their children. They now carried their complaints to the foot of the throne; and Batilda, moved by their supplications, remitted this onerous tribute; and redeemed all those whom the rigid exaction of it had reduced to a state of slavery. Nor was she less attentive to the interests of the church. She displayed her zeal for religion in her endeavors to promote a reformation of manners; in the repression of intrigues for obtaining the honors of episcopacy, and in the extermination of simony.

The Austrasians, however, demanded a king of their own; and the queen, in compliance with their request, appointed her second son to reign over them. Wlfoalde was created mayor of the palace, and declared guardian to the young prince, whom Imnichilda, mother of the banished Dagobert, obtained permission to accompany.

In this condescension, Batilda displayed more goodness than

policy; for Imnichilda was beloved, and Dagobert was still alive; so that the residence of that princess, in a kingdom which belonged to her son, might be attended with disagreeable consequences. But the virtuous mind, conscious of its own rectitude, is seldom open to suspicion. Childeric was received, and crowned with every possible demonstration of joy, and tranquillity appeared to be established throughout the whole empire.

The virtuous regent was studiously bent on promoting the interests of religion, the welfare of the state, and the education of her son. Her court was filled with people renowned for their wisdom and piety. But, unfortunately, her partiality to bishops proved prejudicial to the church, and injurious to her own reputation. She invited to court, among others, two men equally celebrated for their mental endowments, though not possessed of an equal portion of merit. One of them, the illustrious Ligor, who was allied to the royal family, was prudent, pious, and learned; endued with a suavity of manners that captivated every heart, and with a strictness of virtue that conciliated universal respect. Him the queen appointed to the bishopric of Autun, and the sanctity of his life evinced the wisdom of her choice. The other was Sigebbrand, Bishop of Paris, a prelate whose conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, but whose vanity proved the cause of his destruction. This haughty favorite, in order to ensure a greater degree of consequence, suffered a wrong construction to be put on Batilda's kindness to him.

The nobles, jealous of the credit he enjoyed, began to murmur, and at last put him to death.

The assassins then hastened to the queen, and advised her to shut herself up in a monastery.

As she had long sighed after a life of solitude, she was easily prevailed on to listen to their advice, and retired to the abbey of Chelles, which she had founded. She there passed the remainder of her life in the exercise of every virtue. She was afterwards canonized. Batilda's secession from the regency left the

kingdom a prey to the unbridled licentiousness of the mayor of the palace.

Ebroin, possessed of sovereign authority, now showed himself in his true character—a monster of avarice, cruelty, perfidy and pride. His administration was one continued scene of injustice, tyranny, outrage and oppression. If a man was rich, powerful, or virtuous, he was exposed to become the victim of his avidity, ambition, or malice.

Detested by all men of integrity, he banished the nobles from court, and forbade them to appear there, without an express invitation from him.

Things were in this dreadful situation, when Clotaire died, in the twentieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He died unmarried, and was buried in the church belonging to the abbey of St. Denis. The ambitious Ebroin, hated by all the world, could not hope to preserve his place, if the usual forms were observed in the election of a mayor of the palace. Influenced by this consideration, without summoning the nobles of the kingdom to deliberate on the matter, he raised Thierri to the throne, and had him proclaimed King of Paris and Burgundy. This exertion of power astonished the nobles, though it did not give them any aversion to their new monarch.

They were even on the road, for the purpose of paying their respects and doing homage to him, when they received a renewal of the prohibition to appear at court without permission.

Enraged at an insult so pointed and gross, they immediately assembled, and flew to arms.

The crown was unanimously transferred to Childeric, who hastened to join them at the head of a powerful army. The conspiracy was so general, and so sudden, that Ebroin, forsaken by everybody, had but just time to escape the fury of the nobles by taking refuge in a church.

His life was spared, but his possessions were confiscated, and he was constrained to pass the remainder of his life in the convent of Luxeuil.

## CHILDERIC THE SECOND.

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A. D. 670.] The commencement of this reign was devoted to acts of gratitude, and to the support of the laws. Childeric made a point of rewarding such of the nobles as had contributed to his elevation ; and as Ligur, Bishop of Autun, had been greatly instrumental in effecting this revolution, he entrusted him with the administration of affairs, and declared him his principal minister.

The great credit which this prelate enjoyed with his sovereign has made some writers believe that he was created mayor of the palace : but they did not reflect, that an office which gave the command of armies, and the power of judging of matters of life and death, was incompatible with the character of a priest and prelate.

However that may be, to the prudent councils of this great man was the king indebted for the reformation of numerous abuses that had crept into the state. But all these flattering symptoms of a wise and virtuous reign speedily vanished.

The nobles, seeing that this reformation would effect a diminution of their own enormous power and undue consequence, adopted every means they could devise, for corrupting the mind of this young sovereign. Having acquired a perfect ascendancy over him, they led him into every kind of excess ; debauchery soon gave way to indolence, and indolence to cruelty. He suffered all those ordinances which he had so properly renewed, to be violated with impunity ; and authorized a contempt of the laws by his own example, in contracting an incestuous marriage with a near relative. In vain were the solicitations and remon-

stances of his ministers exerted to induce him to the pursuit of a different course of life. His representations, though at first they were listened to with some degree of attention, soon became insupportable; and it was resolved to embrace the first opportunity that should occur for effecting his ruin.

It was customary in ancient times for bishops to invite their sovereigns to celebrate the festival of Easter in their cathedrals: Ligur requested Childeric to do him that honor, and the king, still retaining some degree of respect for him, accepted his invitation, and repaired to Autun. He there found Hector, patrician, or governor of Marseilles, who had a favor to ask of him. That nobleman, whose merit was equal to his birth, was intimate with the minister, and knowing the credit he enjoyed with his sovereign, had frequently conferred with him on the subject of his present application.

It was insinuated, however, to the king, that there was some mystery in this interview, and that the two friends had formed a design to interrupt the tranquillity of the state. Thus prejudiced against the prelate, instead of going to the cathedral, on the night of Easter Sunday, which the early Christians always passed in prayer, he repaired to the Church of Saint Symphorien, where he received the sacrament from the hands of Bishop Prejectus.

The next morning, after a grand repast, he went almost intoxicated to the cathedral, swearing and blaspheming, and threatening Ligur in the most indecent manner. From thence he repaired to the episcopal palace, where the bishop joined him as soon as he had said mass.

Childeric loaded him with reproaches and insults; and Ligur, finding from his conduct that his ruin was inevitable if he remained any longer at Autun, left the city with his friend Hector: but they were very speedily pursued. Hector, after a vigorous defence, was killed, and Ligur was brought back to the king, who sent him into confinement at the monastery of Luxeuil.

There the prelate met with Ebroin, the deposed mayor of the palace, who earnestly besought his friendship.

Childeric, being now deprived of the advice of his minister, fell into the extremes of vice, and finally became an object of universal contempt.

A nobleman, named Bodillon, venturing to represent to him the danger that would arise from an oppressive impost that he was on the point of establishing, the king ordered him to be tied to a post, and had him severely flogged.

The nobles, enraged at such an insult to a man of rank, conspired against his life. Childeric was then with his family at a seat in the forest of Livri, near Chelles. Thither the conspirators repaired ; and, forcing his palace, massacred him, with his queen, and their son, Dagobert, an infant.

Another son, named Daniel, had the good fortune to escape, and afterwards reigned under the title of Chilperic the Third. Childeric was in the twenty-third year of his age. This prince was destitute both of courage and conduct. He neither possessed sufficient knowledge to govern a great kingdom, nor sufficient discernment to appreciate and pursue the wise councils of a prudent and virtuous minister. He was interred at the abbey of Saint Germain des Près.

## THIERRI THE FIRST.

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A. D. 673.] Ligur, who, as well as Ebroin, had left the convent of Luxeuil on the death of Childeric, was received at the court of Thierry as a tutelary deity. His first care was to procure the election of a mayor of the palace; and the choice fell upon Leudesie. The news of this election disconcerted Ebroin, who retired into Austrasia, where his friends were numerous.

Wlfoalde, who governed the kingdom under Dagobert, supplied him with troops, with which the presumptuous rebel advanced towards Paris.

The alarm was so sudden and unexpected, that every one had recourse to flight. Thierry, the mayor of the palace, and all the noblemen of their retinue, fled, first to Baisieu, between Amiens and Corbie, and then to Cressy.

The royal treasury was plundered, the churches pillaged, and the whole country laid waste.

The conqueror, however, despairing of succeeding by force, had recourse to stratagem; and, inviting Leudesie to a conference, which that credulous nobleman accepted, he there put him to death. This murderous deed only served to render Thierry's hatred of Ebroin more inveterate, and to show that monarch the danger of entrusting such a man with any considerable degree of authority. Ebroin, sensible the conjuncture was not favorable to his designs, again retired into Austrasia, but with the determination to put his plans in execution wherever an opportunity should occur. He had the audacity to produce a pretended son of Clotaire the Third. In this infamous project, he was assisted

by two prelates; who had been deprived of their episcopal dignity on account of their crimes: these were Didier, Bishop of Chalons, and Bobon, Bishop of Valentia. All the provinces that refused to acknowledge this phantom of a monarch, were exposed to the most cruel and destructive depredations.

Ligur was the first who felt the effects of Ebroin's resentment. Vaymer, Duke of Champagne, was sent to besiege him in Autun, and the place was on the point of being carried by assault, when the good prelate, having distributed his effects among the poor, surrendered himself to the enemy, that the inhabitants might not be exposed to the fury of a military mob. Didier was so inhuman as to order his eyes to be put out. The king, having lost his best friend, and most prudent adviser, found himself reduced to the necessity of treating with his rebellious subject. Ebroin was declared mayor of the palace, and the pretended son of Clotaire sunk into his original nothingness.

The new minister at first published a general amnesty; but soon after affecting a profound respect for majesty, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the conspiracy and murder of Childeric. The crime was certainly deserving of the severest punishment; and had Ebroin been really actuated by motives of justice, his conduct on this occasion would have merited the highest commendation. But the inquisition which he established was solely for the purpose of sacrificing such of the nobles as had hitherto escaped his resentment. Count Guerin, Ligur's brother, though a nobleman of unimpeached fidelity to his sovereign, was stoned to death; and the virtuous prelate himself, after being inhumanly tortured, was sent in disgrace to the monastery at Fèschamp. About this time Dagobert, King of Austrasia, was assassinated in an insurrection of his subjects. The death of Dagobert ought to have reunited the whole monarchy under the authority of Thierry; but the aversion of the Austrasians to the government of Ebroin deterred them from acknowledging that monarch. Pepin being declared Duke, or Governor of Austrasia, took up arms, but was defeated by Ebroin on the frontiers of

Neustria, and returned into Austrasia, where he exerted all his powers for the purpose of undermining the government of Thierry. Ebroin did not long enjoy the fruits of this victory. A nobleman, named Emanfroy, attacked him as he came from church, clove his head asunder with a broadsword, and delivered his country from a monster who merited universal execration. The mayors who succeeded him made war on Pepin at different times without success; and Bertaire, the last of them, a man wholly destitute of every good quality, was doomed to be at once the witness and the victim of his elevation. A great number of noblemen, who were discontented with the government of Thierry, had retired into the kingdom of Austrasia, where Pepin, as well from policy as generosity, supported them. He even sent deputies to the king to beg he would pardon these unfortunate men, whom a violent spirit of persecution had compelled to quit their country. The monarch proudly answered, that he would save him the trouble of sending them back, by going to fetch them in person, at the head of a powerful army. Preparations for war were immediately made, and the two armies met at Testris, a village situated on the small river Daumignon, between Saint Quintin and Peronne.

The battle was fought with great obstinacy; but victory at last declared in favor of the Austrasians.

The king, obliged to fly, retired with precipitation to the capital of his empire. Bertaire also had the good fortune to escape from the enemy, but was assassinated by his own soldiers. The conqueror took possession of the royal treasury, forced the gates of Paris, seized the person of Thierry, and causing himself to be declared mayor of the palace, reduced the whole kingdom under his domination.

Pepin, when he had secured this enormous extent of power, conducted himself with so much prudence, moderation and propriety, that he attracted the attention of foreign powers, many of whom honored him with particular marks of esteem; enforced respect from the nations dependent on France, and excited the

benediction of his countrymen, by the destruction of tyranny and oppression.

He re-established the bishops, who had been deposed, in their sees and possessions; he restored to the nobles their dignities and estates; to the orphan and widow their lawful rights, and to the laws their primitive vigor. While Duke of Austrasia, he had subdued the Bavarians, the Saxons and the Suevi; and he now proposed, at an assembly of the nobles, to march without delay against the rest of the German rebels. This proposal was accepted with joy; but before he set out on this expedition, he left a man of the name of Norbert, in whom he could confide, to watch the motions of Thierry. Victory followed his steps. Radbode, Duke of the Frisians, having offered him battle, was attacked and defeated. Pepin took from him a part of his dominions and made him pay tribute for the rest. On his return to Paris, he assembled a council, in which some excellent regulations were adopted for the reformation of manners, the assistance of the poor, and the protection of the widow and orphan. By this artful system of policy, and by a thousand actions of piety, justice and valor, he conciliated the affections of the people, and attempted to overcome their settled aversion to acknowledge any other masters than the descendants of their ancient monarchs. Such was the state of France when Thierry died, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

By his wife Clotilda, he had two sons, Clovis and Childebert. Without entering into the character of this prince, of which we know so little, since all the writers of that age were devoted to the family of Pepin, we may observe, that he was continually the sport of fortune, and a victim to the ambition of his nobles. Excluded from the succession in his infancy, and dethroned by an ambitious brother, he only recovered his rights to become the slave of those whom he was born to command. The battle of Testris finally decided the fate of his empire, and left him but the shadow of royalty.

## CLOVIS THE THIRD.

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A. D. 691.] Clovis, the eldest of Thierry's children, was proclaimed king of France. Austrasia acknowledged no other authority than Pepin, who continued to reign under the name of the new monarch.

No event of importance is recorded during the reign of Clovis, which was short, only four years.

At this period regular troops were unknown. Each province had its militia; and that was generally commanded to march which was nearest the scene of action. All who held *benefices* of the prince or church, all who possessed lands, all the French in short, were obliged to serve the king in person.

Even the bishops were not exempted from personal service. In the different provinces, and particularly on the frontiers, there were magazines established for providing the troop with subsistence. It does not appear that the soldiers had any pay; their sole reward consisted in the booty they made, which it was customary to collect into one common mass, and then to divide it equally. The prisoners were condemned to slavery; and the hostages experienced the same fate when those who gave them failed to perform their engagements. The French armies, during the reign of the Merovingian princes, were wholly composed of infantry. If there were some few horsemen, it was only for the purpose of escorting the commander-in-chief, and carrying his orders. During the same period, too, the only banner used by the French troops was the *cope* of Saint Martin; it was a kind of veil made of silk, and bearing the image of the saint, from whose tomb it was brought with great pomp, whenever it was wanted.

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It was kept under a tent, and just before the battle began was carried round the camp in triumph. The early kings had such confidence in the protection of their saint, that, with this standard, they thought themselves sure of victory.

Clovis died in the fifteenth year of his age, and was buried at Choisy, upon the Aisne near Compeigne.

CHILDEBERT THE SECOND.

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A. D. 695.] Childebert succeeded to the dominions of his brother, and he became equally a captive with that monarch. He was but in his eleventh year when he ascended the throne; and his minority gave Pepin a fresh opportunity of acquiring a considerable augmentation of authority. His court was attended by all the chief officers—the count of the palace, the grand referendary, and the attendant of the royal mansions. He only placed about the person of the youthful sovereign a few faithful servants of his own, who were less studious to serve him than to watch his motions. The ambitious regent had two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, the first of whom he created Duke of Burgundy, and the second he appointed mayor of the palace. The eldest son dying soon after, the youngest succeeded to his *principality*, as it is called by the author of the annals of Metz; whence it appears that this duchy was a kind of sovereignty.

Pepin did not suffer his whole time to be occupied by projects of ambition; he devoted a part of it to the softer pursuits of love.

Some writers pretend that he repudiated Plectrude in order

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to marry Alpaida, by whom he had a son, afterwards so well known by the name of *Charles Martel*. But there are several acts still extant, which prove that the former was never separated from her husband, so that the second only enjoyed the title of mistress; or else the Austrasian duke, like many of the first kings of France, had two wives at the same time. This offence against the sacredness of the marriage rites excited the zeal of Lambert, Bishop of Liege, who openly inveighed against it as a public instance of adultery that merited the severest reprobation.—The prelate was assassinated by Odo, brother of Alpaida. Some military expeditions took place during this reign. War was declared against Egica, King of the Visigoths; but no accounts of its progress or termination have been preserved. Radbode, Duke of the Frisians, revolted a second time, and was again defeated, and reduced to subjection. The Germans, or Allemani, in union with the Suevi, shook off the French yoke; and Pepin, marching against them, defeated Williare, their duke; but yet he could not subdue the spirit of that nobleman, who, in a short time, again took up arms, and experienced a similar check.

Still his courage was unabated, and it was found necessary to send a third army against him, which was on the point of entering on the German territories, when the death of Childebert superinduced its recall. This prince died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. He was buried, with his brother, at Choisy, upon the Aisne.

Childebert left one son who succeeded him under the appellation of Dagobert the Third. But few monarchs have paid a greater attention to the precepts of Christianity than Childebert. His strict observance of justice, and his efforts to enforce a due administration of it, throughout his dominions, procured him the surname of the *Just*.

## DAGOBERT THE SECOND.

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A. D. 711.] Dagobert, on ascending the throne, was destined to experience the fate of his predecessor.

He was shown to the people, received their homage, and their presents, and was shut up in a country seat, to lead a life of indolence, unworthy his birth and station. He was not more than twelve years of age; so that Pepin continued to enjoy his usual extent of authority.

Some time after this, Pepin became dangerously ill at Jupil, one of his country houses, on the banks of the Maese, opposite his castle of Heristal.

Grimoald immediately left the capital, in order to visit him, and as he passed through Liege, he entered the Church of Saint Lambert, where he was assassinated by a man named Rangaire. He left an infant son, Theodald, whom Pepin appointed mayor of the palace of Dagobert. Such an appointment was a gross encroachment on the privileges of the nobles, who had always enjoyed the right of choosing the mayor; it was also an injury to the state, by giving it a child for governor; and an insult on the king, by placing him under the guardianship of an infant. But as the duke's authority was absolute, no one dared to murmur. Pepin, after having reigned with despotic authority for twenty-seven years and a half, expired at Jupil; leaving two sons, Charles Martel, to whom he bequeathed the office of mayor; and Childebrand, from whom, historians assert, the third race of monarchs descended; two other sons, Drogan and Grimoald, having died before him. Theodald had succeeded his father Grimoald, in the office of mayor of the palace of Neustria and

Burgundy, and discharged the duties of his office under the guardianship of his grandmother Plectrude.

This ambitious woman, in order to regain all the power which her husband Pepin had possessed, caused Charles Martel to be arrested, and put in confinement at Cologne, where she resided.

But the Austrasian nobles, soon becoming disgusted with a female government, applied to Dagobert, who was then in his eighteenth year, and excited him to war. The young prince, roused by their representations, took the management of affairs upon himself, and marched against the Austrasians, met them in the forest of Guise, and obtained a decisive victory; Plectrude and her grandsons escaped only with their lives. Dagobert gave the important post of mayor of the palace to Rainfroy, one of the bravest and most powerful noblemen at the court of Paris. He carried the war into the heart of Austrasia, and according to the ferocious ideas of those times, he signalized his valor by the extent and cruelty of his depredations. It was during these troubles that Charles Martel escaped from prison.

The Austrasians received him with every demonstration of joy; and as he possessed all the brilliant qualities of his father Pepin, they looked on him with a kind of adoration, and with an unanimous voice, chose him their duke. Such was the state of affairs, when Dagobert died, in the fourth year of his reign. He was interred at the monastery of Choisy, upon the Aisne. This monarch left one son, Thierri, but Rainfroy thinking the prince, too young to hold the reins of government, sent him to the monastery at Nantes, under the care of the sacred fathers; and placed on the throne Clotaire the Fourth, who descended from the Merovingians, but had passed the previous years of his life in monastic seclusion.

## CLOTAIRE THE FOURTH.

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A. D. 715.] This prince was raised to the throne of Austrasia but a few months before Charles Martel escaped from his prison, where he had been incarcerated by order of Plectrude. As soon as that event took place, Charles collected his army together, and marched against the Neustrians, whom he completely subdued, despoiled Rainfroy of the mayoralty of Paris, and raised Clotaire, King of Austrasia, to the throne of France. On his arrival at the capital, that prince was unanimously proclaimed king of the whole monarchy, and Charles Martel mayor of the palace of the two kingdoms. Charles next allied himself to Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, and commenced the war against the Saxons, who had ravaged the frontier of the Rhine ; he opened Germany to the missionaries who prepared the conquests of Charlemagne.

This reign, however, was very short, and little of interest respecting it can be learned from historians of those days ; they all, however, agree, that from continued ill health, Clotaire passed most of his time in seclusion, and died in Paris, having reigned but seventeen months.

## CHILPERIC THE SECOND.

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A. D. 716.] This monarch was in the forty-sixth year of his age, when he ascended the throne. Scorning the spiritless indolence of his predecessor, his reign was distinguished by activity and vigor.

Accompanied by Rainfroy, he marched into Austrasia, to oppose the haughty pretensions of Charles Martel, who had resigned his post as mayor of Paris, and had resumed the dukedom of Austrasia. Radbode, Duke of the Frisans, who was in alliance with him, had passed the Rhine, and advanced to the very gates of Cologne. Charles attacked him before he could be joined by the royal army; but though that nobleman displayed the most intrepid courage, he was overpowered by numbers and obliged to retire. This victory increased the reputation of Charles, and revived the hopes of his party. The Austrasians flocked to his standard in crowds, and he soon found himself enabled to carry the war into the enemy's country. As soon as the season would permit, he opened the campaign; and, passing the Carbonerian forest, pushed his destructive march as far as Cambray, where he was met by Chilperic. A battle ensued at the village of Vinchy, in which Charles obtained a complete victory, and pursued the king to the gates of Paris. Finding that capital prepared for a vigorous resistance, he suddenly changed his course, and marched to Cologne, which opened its gates to him.

Plectrude was obliged to give up the treasures of Pepin, and to surrender her grandsons, Theodald, Hugh, and Arnold, whom the conqueror secured.

By this means Charles became master of all that part of the French empire.

Chilperic having reinforced, prepared a second time to march against the Austrasians, in full hopes of success. But the valor and intrepidity of Charles produced among the troops of the king such consternation that they refused to face the enemy.

Charles having completely established internal tranquillity, made a successful expedition against the Saxons, a people who strictly preserved their attachment to the Christian religion and to the French monarchy. Chilperic died very suddenly at Noyon, where he was buried.

This prince did not complete the fifth year of his reign: though he was unfortunate in most of his undertakings, his merit was conspicuous. His wisdom, goodness, courage, activity, and prudence, have procured him an honorable exemption from the list of *Faineans*, or indolent princes; an epithet which has justly been bestowed on the latter monarchs of the Merovingian race.

As he had no children, Thierri, the second son of Dagobert the Second, surnamed of *Chelles*, ascended the throne.

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## THIERRI THE SECOND.

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A. D. 720.] Thierry was in his fifth year when he was proclaimed King of Paris, Burgundy and Austrasia.

That is the title by which he is distinguished in two of his charters, still extant, both of which were drawn up in the first year of his reign.

Charles Martel still continued to reign as regent of this infant prince. The remainder of that nobleman's life was one continued succession of wars, battles, victories and triumphs.

He had no sooner subdued the Saxons, and recovered possession of all that country as far as Weser, than his attention was called to the Germans, who had revolted. Having reduced them to submission, he waged war against the Bavarians, whom he also subdued.

The Duke of Aquitaine, who took up arms about the same time, was overcome by Charles in two general actions, and compelled to sue for mercy. But he had now a more formidable army to encounter, as the Saracens had entered France with a powerful army.

A decisive victory was fought, which lasted nearly two days, between the Saracens and the united forces of Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, at the close of which the superiority of courage and conduct over numbers was evidently manifested.

On that memorable occasion, the weighty strokes of Charles first acquired him the name of *Martel*, the *hammer*. Most of their principal officers were killed, and the bloody field was strewed, if the historians of those times may be credited, with the bodies of three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahomet-

ans. The camp of the Saracens, filled with the spoils of conquered provinces, was pillaged, and the plunder divided among the troops. It is said that Charles, after this victory, instituted the celebrated order of *the Genet*, which consisted but of sixteen knights, who wore a gold collar, with three chains, to which was suspended a *Genet* of solid gold. Favinus and the Abbe Justiniani assure us, that this order was much in vogue under the second race of kings ; it does not, however, appear that military orders were in use before the twelfth century ; which occasioned Father Menestrier to fix this institution of the *Genet* at the reign of Charles the Seventh. A second irruption of the Mussulmans into Provence revived the laurels of Charles, who, in another decisive battle, again subdued the Frisans, and slew their duke with his own hands.

On the death of Eude, Charles granted the dukedom to his son, reserving to himself and his heirs the claim of homage, without even mentioning the name of his sovereign.

Soon after this Thierri died, in the twenty-second year of his age, a mere *protege* of Charles Martel. He was buried at St. Denis.

## INTERREGNUM.

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THE interregnum which ensued after the death of *Thierri*, according to the historian *M. de Valois*, lasted five years. *Charles* thought that the services he had rendered to the kingdom ought to have secured to him an offer of the crown. Possessed of sovereign authority, he might, without impediment, have placed it on his head ; but knowing that the French were firmly attached to the royal family, he did not dare to assume a title which would have excited such general envy ; and the nobles were anxious that he should choose them a king from the descendants of *Clovis*.

Still he continued to exert an absolute sway, under the title of Duke of the French.

Pope Gregory the Second styles him Duke and Mayor of the Palace of France.

*Charles*, more debilitated by fatigue than by age, had been for some time afflicted with a disorder that insensibly preyed upon his constitution ; he therefore began to think of settling his family concerns. By his wife, *Rotrude*, he had three children, *Carloman*, *Pepin*, and the Princess *Hildetrudé*. By *Somnichilde*, his second wife, he had another son named *Grifon*. Having convened an assembly of the nobles at *Verberie*, a country seat near *Compeigne*, he obtained their consent to make the following division of the French empire :—to *Carloman* he gave *Austrasia*, *Germany* and *Thuringia* ; to *Pepin*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy* and *Provence* : but a very small portion of territory was assigned to *Grifon*. This division gave rise to some commotions in *Burgundy* ; but they were soon appeased by *Pepin*.

Soon after he had made these arrangements, Charles died at Quersi upon Oise, in the fifty-first year of his age; and was interred with great pomp at the abbey of Saint Denis.

Although his victories over the Saracens most probably preserved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet has his character been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy who resented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church to the defence of the Christian religion, have not scrupled to enroll him among the damned. The death of Charles occasioned great confusion. Hunalde, Duke of Aquitaine, in violation of his oaths, refused to acknowledge the authority of Carloman and Pepin. The two princes marched against him, laid his country waste, subdued him, and exacted from him a renewal of his homage.

During this expedition, they fixed the boundaries of their respective dominions; and Carloman, then passing the Rhine, advanced to the banks of the Danube, and constrained the Germans to sue for peace.

About this time, Charles, the eldest son of Pepin, who afterwards acquired the name of Charlemagne, from the splendor of his actions, was born at the castle of Ingelheim, near Mayence. But the French were by no means satisfied with the long continuance of this interregnum; and those princes who paid tribute to the crown, though willing to acknowledge the authority of a monarch, refused to pay obedience to men who, they said, had annihilated royalty, and now oppressed the nobles.—Influenced by these considerations, Pepin restored the regal title in Childeric the Third.

## CHILDERIC THE THIRD.

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A. D. 742.] Childeric, according to an ancient genealogical table of the kings of France, was son of Thierry the Second. He only reigned over Neustria, Burgundy and Provence, Carloman and Pepin reserving to themselves the remainder of the kingdom. The tributary princes still obeying with regret the children of Charles Martel, entered a fresh league, in order to shake off the authority of Pepin and Carloman.

In this they were successively repulsed, but Carloman, foreseeing difficulty and trouble, determined to embrace a life of religious solitude. Even in the moment of triumph, he conceived the design of secluding himself from the follies and vices of the world, in the silent gloom of a cloister. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he received the monastic habit from the hands of Pope Zachary, who assigned him a place in the Benedictine abbey on Mount Cassin.

Pepin now entertained serious thoughts of uniting in himself the authority and title of king. The chief obstacle to his elevation arose from the oath of fidelity which the French had taken to Childeric. This impediment Pepin undertook to remove, though the means which he adopted for this purpose are variously related.

The generality of writers pretend that, being assured of the favor, esteem and suffrages of the nation, he proposed to them to consult Pope Zachary; who replied, that being already in possession of the regal authority, he might certainly assume the title of king. The people were accordingly persuaded that this declaration was sufficient to release them from the obligation of

their oath. There are others, on the contrary, who affirm that Childeric, impressed with an earnest desire of embracing a religious life, voluntarily, and with the consent of his principal vassals, abdicated the throne; by which means, the right of electing a new sovereign reverted to the people, who unanimously conferred that dignity on Pepin. Accordingly he was proclaimed king.

Childeric descended from the throne, and retired to the monastery of Sithieu. He did not survive his deposition more than four years. Thus finished the Merovingian race, which had reigned three hundred and thirty-three years from Pharamond. It gave thirty-six monarchs, twenty-two of whom reigned over Paris. The four first were Pagans, the others Christians, but rather in name than in manners. Writers of that age, in order to justify the usurpation of Pepin, have ascribed to the Merovingians all the calamities of the empire; while they have imputed to the Carolingians every national improvement, and all the good that was done during their government of the kingdom under the title of Mayors of the Palace.

## THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

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### P E P I N.

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A. D. 752.] The deplorable end of the Merovingian race affords one of those examples (which are not less common than dreadful) of the instability of all human affairs. The antiquity of its origin, traced to the very earliest times; the splendor of its exploits; the number of its victories; the extent of its conquests; the habitual respect of the nation, and the natural attachment of the French to their lawful sovereigns, all proved insufficient to insure its duration. Pepin was crowned at Soissons, in a general assembly of the nation, and received the sacred unction from the hands of Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, and the Pope's legate, by which means he led the people to regard his election as an order from heaven, and acquired additional veneration to his person and respect to his power. This ceremony, hitherto unknown in France, was performed in the cathedral of Soissons, and it was found to be productive of so many advantages, that all the successors of Pepin followed his example, except Louis the *debonnaire*, who, being ordered by his father, Charlemagne, to go and take the crown from the great altar, in the Church of Aix-la-Chapelle, put it on his head, and without any farther consecration, was acknowledged king of the whole monarchy. The commencement of this new reign was distinguished by a signal defeat of the Saxons, who had again

revolted, and were again reduced to submission, and compelled to pay an annual tribute of three hundred horses.

Pepin's next care, after his consecration, was to assemble a parliament at Crecy upon Oise, in order to declare war against the Lombards.

But he was extremely surprised to see his brother Carloman attend the assembly, who, after having abdicated the throne, had assumed the monastic habit. The King of Lombardy, who was afraid that the pontiff would prevail on the French monarch to espouse his cause, had persuaded this prince to counteract his projects. The pious monk accordingly obeyed the orders of his sovereign in opposing the interests of the Pope. A recollection of his former dignity, his birth, and his virtues, gave a great weight to his arguments. He spoke in favor of Astolphos, King of the Lombards, with such strength and eloquence, that it was determined to send ambassadors to that monarch, to engage him to the adoption of pacific measures, before the nation should arm. This proof of the influence which Carloman still possessed, gave umbrage to Pepin; who, having conferred on the subject with Stephen, the sovereign pontiff, sent him into close confinement at a monastery at Vienne, where he died that same year. The subsequent seizure of his children, who were also immured in a convent, gave birth to strange suspicions on his sudden death; and it was generally supposed that he had fallen a sacrifice to the fears and ambition of his brother. Astolphos received the French ambassadors with proper respect, and offered to forego his pretensions to Rome, but he refused to restore either the Exarchate, or the Pentapolis, which the Pope claimed as the spoils of a heretic.

Pepin, not content with this proposal, sent a second embassy, which did not prove more successful than the first. He then made, with the consent of the nobles, that celebrated donation to the church of Saint Peter which gave rise to the temporal power of the court of Rome.

It comprised, under the name of Exarchate—Ravenna, Adria,

Ferrara, Imola, Faenza, Forli, and six other towns, with their dependencies; and under that of the Pentapolis—Rimini, Pefaro, Fano, Senigaglia, and Ancona, with several places of inferior note. Pepin's generosity in thus disposing of territories which did not belong to him, is truly curious: he resolved, however, to acquire by conquest, a right of disposal; and for this purpose he marched into Italy.

Astolphos, besieged in Pavia by the French army, renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, and restored several other towns to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. The King of the French, exulting in the success of his expedition, repassed the Alps in triumph. The satisfaction of Pepin was but of short duration; the retreat of the French dissipated the fears of Astolphos; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already pressed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. On the receipt of this intelligence, the brave Pepin again resumed his armor; and the rapidity of his march was only to be equaled by that of his success. The Lombard was a second time compelled to sue for peace; and to the former terms was added the stipulation of an annual tribute of twelve thousand sols of gold.

Pepin had now attained to the summit of glory: the crown of Lombardy had, on the death of Astolphos, been conferred on Didier; the Pope was indebted to him for a considerable extent of territory; and the emperor courted his favor, and spared no pains to secure his friendship. The repose of France was again disturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavors to break only served to rivet their chains; they were speedily subdued, and reduced to unconditional submission. This victorious monarch was everywhere successful; but a slow fever threatened his dissolution, and in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign, he expired at Saint Denis, where he was buried according to his own order, at the church door, with his face downwards, and in the posture of a penitent.

By his wife Bertha, daughter of Caribert, Count of Leon, he had four sons—Charlemagne, who succeeded to the kingdom of

France ; Carloman, who governed Austrasia ; Pepin, who died young, and Gilles, a monk, in the monastery of Saint Sylvestre. Pepin possessed great martial abilities, and great political talents ; hence his skill and success were equal in the cabinet and the field. Under his auspices, France attained that strength and consequence which enabled his son to pursue his triumphant career of greatness.

But amidst the splendor of his virtues, his vices and defects have been totally forgotten.

Not one of his biographers has, in the delineation of his character, noticed the assassination of Theodald ; the despotic authority which he exerted over his lawful sovereign ; the violation of his oath in deposing Childeric, and taking possession of the throne ; or the tyrannical confinement of his brother Carloman in a convent. These are weighty defects ; and though opposed by many great and glorious actions, are surely sufficient not only to preclude indiscriminate commendation but to command a considerable degree of censure.

Pepin acquired the surname of *Short* from his diminutive form, which became a subject of pleasantry to some of his courtiers. The king being informed of their remarks, determined to convince them of their error : with this view he caused a combat to be exhibited, at the abbey of Terrieres, between a lion and a bull. The former having thrown down his adversary, Pepin turned to the noblemen, who were present, and asked, which of them had courage enough to separate or kill the furious combatants. The bare proposal made them all shudder—not a soul replied.—“I will do it then myself,” said the monarch calmly.—He accordingly drew his sabre, leaped into the arena, attacked and killed the lion, and then turning to the bull, aimed so severe a blow at his head, that he separated it from his body. The whole court were astonished at this prodigious exertion of courage and strength. The nobles, who had indulged their wit at the expense of the king, were confounded.

Pepin, turning towards them, exclaimed in a lofty tone—“David was small, but he overthrew the proud giant who had dared to

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treat him with contempt." This ferocious kind of amusement was common in these times. The kings not only exhibited combats of wild beasts to the people, but they frequently indulged themselves with this favorite diversion within the precincts of the palace.

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## CHARLEMAGNE.

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A. D. 768.] The French nobles, being dissatisfied with the division of the realm by the will of Pepin, proceeded to call an assembly, in order to form a new and more appropriate division between the two brothers, Charlemagne and Carloman.

Accordingly they gave to Charles, Paris, Burgundy and Aquitaine, and to Carloman, Austrasia with all French Germany. The two brothers were crowned the same day; the eldest at Noyon, and the youngest at Soissons. But the harmony that subsisted between them was speedily interrupted by the dictates of ambition. The first year of their reign a rupture took place, and Charles obtained possession of part of Austrasia. Carloman was preparing to resent this injury, and the flames of war were on the point of desolating the empire, when their attention was attracted by another object of their mutual enmity. This was Hunalde, the old Duke of Aquitaine, who, suddenly bursting from the fetters of a monastic life, which he had patiently borne for more than twenty years, assumed the garb of royalty, and was received by his subjects with the most unequivocal demonstrations of joy. The most important cities opened their gates to their long-lost sovereign; and a conquest, the laborious achievements of several years, was

threatened to be overturned in a few weeks. Charles was sensible how much his own reputation was concerned to oppose the torrent: his entreaties persuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates had scarcely formed a junction before the fickle prince withdrew, with the troops immediately attached to his standard, and left his brother to support alone the weight of the war. The commanding genius of Charles supplied the deficiency of his numbers; the Duke of Aquitaine, defeated in a decisive battle, escaped with difficulty to the Gascon territories, whence he was surrendered to the enemy; and the captive Hunalde confined in a prison. The brilliant success of Charles induced Didier, King of the Lombards, and Tassilon, Duke of Bavaria, who had planned hostilities against him, to forego their designs. In the midst of these transactions, Carloman died at Samancy, near Laon, and was interred at the Abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. He left two sons, Pepin and Siagre; but neither of them was permitted to succeed him; the Austrasians, impressed with respect for the talents of Charles, acknowledged him for their sovereign. Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, trembling for the fate of her children, fled with them into Lombardy, where they were received with great affection. The court of Lombardy soon became an asylum for all the enemies of the French monarchy; Hunalde having escaped from prison, repaired thither; and several of the Austrasian nobles, disgusted with the government of Charles, took refuge with the enemy. Charles was not ignorant of these proceedings; but his immediate attention was called to another quarter. A revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war, which with some short intervals, exercised his persevering valor during thirty-three years. From the Rhine, and beyond the Elbe, the martial inhabitants of the north of Germany were still inimical to the government and religion of the French. They rejected with contempt the servile obligation of tribute; and, in successive engagements, displayed a ferocious courage, which could only be repulsed by the veteran intrepidity of Charles. On the ruins of Lombardy, a new mo-

narchy was raised which afterwards assumed the appellation of the kingdom of Italy. Charles, although he had extended the papal dominions, was careful to restrain the temporal authority of the pope within due bounds. All affairs were conducted in Rome by the king's orders. The money coined there bore his impression; the public acts were dated according to the years of his reign; an appeal was made to his officers from all the sentences pronounced by the popes with regard to their vassals; the sovereign pontiffs themselves had recourse to the justice of the French monarch in their own personal concerns. Charles having settled his affairs in Italy, returned to Saxony, where he held a parliament in his camp, on the banks of the Lippe. The attention of this assembly was chiefly directed to the adoption of means for stifling the spirit of revolt; and they imagined that they had effectually fulfilled this object of their convention: but the French troops had scarcely passed the Rhine, when Whitikind again excited that martial people to assert their native claim of independence.

Charles, engaged at this time in other projects, sent three of his lieutenants to chastise them.

In this they were mistaken, for after a severe battle the slaughter in the army of Charles was dreadful; in which many officers and persons of distinction were killed. The defeat of his army proved a source of uneasiness to Charles, who was little accustomed to the reception of such intelligence. He immediately marched into Saxony, with a full resolution to inflict exemplary vengeance on men whose sole crime consisted in repelling the attempts of a foreign invader. At his approach their troops dispersed, and the nobles flocked to him with protestations of innocence and fidelity; but, though he met with no opposition, he seized four thousand five hundred of the insurgents, and ordered them to be beheaded, as an example to their countrymen. By this unprecedented execution, Charles lost all claims to humanity. Charles, after having spent the first forty-two years of his reign in continual warfare, experienced the satisfaction of peace and

tranquillity. But this was embittered by the death of his son Pepin, whom he had placed on the throne of Italy; an infant son of that prince, named Bernard, was appointed by the disconsolate emperor to succeed his father. In a few months after this severe loss, he had fresh cause for lamentation in the death of his eldest son Charles, who died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. All his hopes were now centered in his remaining child, Louis, King of Aquitaine, a prince who bore the highest reputation for prudence, economy and valor. The aged emperor, feeling his strength decay, and the weight of public cares becoming too burdensome for him to bear without assistance, now determined on the association of Louis to the empire. Arrayed in his imperial robes, with a crown of gold upon his head, and supported by his son, he repaired to the magnificent chapel which he had built at Aix-la-Chapelle; and after inculcating in the mind of his youthful colleague the duties of a monarch and a man, he commanded him to take the crown, which had been placed on the altar, and put it on his head.

The increasing infirmities of Charlemagne soon warned him to prepare for his end. But a few months after the association of Louis, he was attacked with a fever, and conscious of his danger, he beheld with firmness the approach of death: and after a fainting fit, in a low and faltering voice, he uttered these words—"Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit"—and immediately expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-seventh of his reign. His counsels to his son Louis, which exhort him to consider the people as his children; to be gentle in his administration, but firm in the execution of justice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to choose his ministers deliberately, but never to remove them capriciously; are maxims that cannot be too strongly recommended, nor too easily adopted. The body of Charlemagne was deposited in a vault, in his chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was seated on a throne of gold, arrayed in the imperial robes, and in the hair-cloth which he commonly wore; with his sword at his side—the crown on his head—the Bible on

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his knees, and his shield and his sceptre at his feet. These last were of gold, and deemed highly valuable in a superstitious age, less from the precious metal of which they were composed, than from the benediction which had been bestowed on them by Pope Leo. Beneath the regal mantle was placed the large pilgrim's purse, which he always carried with him on his journey to Rome. The whole sepulchre was scented with perfumes, and filled with a vast quantity of pieces of gold. Over the entrance was erected a superb triumphal arch, on which the following epitaph was inscribed :—*Here rests the body of Charles the Great, and orthodox Emperor, who gloriously extended the kingdom of the French, and governed it happily during forty-seven years.*

LOUIS THE FIRST.

SURNAMED THE GENTLE.

A. D. 814.] Louis, on the death of his father, repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was proclaimed king and emperor. At first he acquired a great reputation for piety, by his scrupulous attention to enforce the last will of the deceased emperor; though at the same time, he created many enemies by attempting to reform several abuses, which had either escaped notice, or met with toleration during the preceding reign. While Louis was employed in these domestic regulations, the Duke of Benevento sent to demand a confirmation of the treaty which he had concluded with Charlemagne, by which he had agreed to pay a tribute of twenty-five thousand sols of gold; but Louis reduced it to seven thou-

sand. Grimoald did homage to the new monarch and received from his hands a new investiture. Bernard, King of Italy, was also summoned to pay the same mark of subjection; he obeyed, but his obedience wore so strong an appearance of constraint that it was evident he only waited for an opportunity to assert his independence. Louis took from him Adelard and Vala, two grandsons of Charles Martel, who were the friends of his heart and the leaders of his council. The first of these was transferred from his abbey of Corbie to the monastery of Noirmontier; and the last being banished from court, assumed the monastic habit, and succeeded his brother as Abbot of Corbie. The degradation of two men, who had enjoyed all the confidence and esteem of Charlemagne, greatly injured the reputation of his successor. That part of his character which had hitherto been considered as meekness of disposition and goodness of heart, was now regarded as weakness and timidity.

His conduct was such as rather marked the monk than bespoke the monarch; he passed whole days in reading the Scriptures, and singing psalms.

He sent to Aquitaine for an abbot named Benedict, who, though a man of piety, was wholly unfit to be entrusted with matters of state. To him was allotted the office of receiving petitions and requests, and the manner in which he discharged his trust proved the rectitude of his intentions, but the unlimited and almost exclusive confidence reposed in him by the emperor, excited murmurs and complaints. Louis had three sons by the Empress Ermengarde,—Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis.

The first he sent to Bavaria, and the second to Aquitaine, but gave them no titles; so that they, in fact, could only be considered as governors of those territories. This was a prudent policy, which it would have been happy for him if he had always observed. Heriold, who governed a part of the kingdom of Denmark, came to claim the protection of Louis, as his liege lord, against the children of Godfrey, who had despoiled him of his dominions. The emperor, convinced of the justice of his

petition, ordered the Saxons to arm in his favor, and that brave people, having recently been restored by Louis to certain rights of which his predecessor had deprived them, evinced their gratitude by the alacrity with which they obeyed his commands. Having traversed the Elbe, and the Eyder, they entered Denmark, laid the whole country waste, and restored the exiled monarch to his lost inheritance.

Bernard, King of Italy, son of the emperor's eldest brother, conceived himself treated with injustice. He was a young man of the age of nineteen—handsome, well-made, brave, liberal, and beloved by his subjects. All the malcontents, who were very numerous, and some of the bishops, enraged at a reform that was contrary to their inclinations, promised, if he would oppose the measures of the king, that they and all their vassals would openly espouse his cause. Louis, apprized of the conspiracy, immediately prepared to repel it, and marched without delay to Chalons-upon-Saone, at the head of a powerful army. This dispatch surprised the rebels, who fled on all sides; while Bernard, forsaken by his troops, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and with the principal conspirators, submitted to his mercy.

They were all tried, and their guilt being confirmed by their own confessions, Bernard and the nobles were condemned to die, and the bishops were degraded and confined in a monastery. But, as a mark of *indulgence*, the sentence of the former was mitigated, and they were permitted to purchase their lives with the loss of their eyes; this cruel operation proved fatal to the King of Italy; and when we reflect, that the punishment was inflicted by an uncle, and on a youth of the greatest accomplishments, and most amiable mind, we cannot but think that it was greatly disproportioned to the offence, and betrayed a want of feeling and humanity in Louis, that accorded but ill with his avowed respect for the doctrine and precepts of Christianity.

Immediately upon the enactment of these cruel and wanton deeds came the death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of Louis with Judith, descended from the nobles of Bavaria, and the

Dukes of Saxony, but whose beauteous form and splendid accomplishments concealed an ambitious mind, the source of equal calamities to her consort and the empire.

The rejoicings which attended the celebration of these nuptials were inadequate to stifle, in the mind of Louis, the rising dictates of remorse. The cruelty and injustice of his conduct to his nephew, his brothers, and to Adelard and Vala, the friends of his father, preyed upon his spirits, and proved a continual interruption to his repose.

A national assembly was convened at his palace of Attigny, and there, in presence of his prelates and nobles, he became his own accuser; asked forgiveness of his brothers, who were all present; granted a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him; recalled those whom he had banished, and restored them to their estates and possessions; and finally entreated the bishops to suffer him to atone, by public penance, for the crimes he had committed.

By a misplaced condescension of this nature, Vamba, King of Spain, had lost his throne; but Louis was more fortunate—he regained the affection of his subjects, which his late severity had tended to estrange. About this time Judith gave birth to Charles, surnamed the Bald. Charles, the son of Judith, having as yet no allotment of empire, Louis proposed to dismember the possessions of his other children, in order to form a separate kingdom for him.

The three princes at first refused to consent to their father's proposals; but Lothaire, being gained over by the caresses of the empress, withdrew his opposition, and as he had held the young prince on the baptismal font, he promised to become his protector, and swore to defend him against all his enemies. Louis being thus assured of the support of his eldest son, convoked an assembly at Worms, where he gave to Charles, with the title of king, that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine; the country of Grisons, and the district of Burgundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiss cantons.

A slanderous calumny at this time broke out, which caused much wretchedness in the family of Louis. His queen Judith was accused of familiarities with Bernard, Count of Barcelona, a nobleman highly distinguished by the lustre of his rank, and by his brave and enterprising spirit. His attachment to the interest of Prince Charles, and his close attention to his office, as chamberlain to the empress, gave birth to suspicions inimical to the virtue of Judith. The empress, whose mind suffered from those calumnies, determined to retire to a monastery; she accordingly took the veil in the convent of Radegonda, at Poitiers. The Empress Judith had been in her monastic retirement but little more than a year, when Louis recalled her. She appeared before an assembly of nobles at Aix-la-Chapelle, where she swore to her innocence of the crimes that were laid to her charge; and the accusations preferred against her were declared to be false and calumnious. The mind of Louis exhibited a strange mixture of virtue and weakness. Intrepid in the field, but irresolute in the cabinet—humane from inclination, from timidity cruel, he had sense enough to promulgate good and wholesome laws, but not sufficient spirit to enforce their observance. Injudicious in the choice of his ministers, he conferred favors on the unworthy, and was involved in calamities from vices not his own. Superstitiously devout, his close attention to the *minutiæ* of a religion in which substance is but too frequently sacrificed to forms, led him to neglect the most essential duties of government, and entrust to favorites what he should have executed himself.

In short, the virtues of Louis might have procured distinction in a cloister, but were by no means calculated to embellish a throne.

Louis died at Mayence, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. This monarch was buried in the Church of Saint Arnoul, at Metz. By Ermengarde he had three sons—Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis; and by Judith of Bavaria, he had Charles, surnamed the Bald.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

A. D. 840.] By a will of the late monarch, the empire of France was divided between his three surviving sons, Lothaire, Louis and Charles, and the children of his deceased son Pepin. But the division was not satisfactory to the ambitious Lothaire, who conceived that with his powerful army, he could depose his two brothers, and become sole monarch of the empire. He, after some delay, however, promised to abide by the decision of a general assembly, which was immediately summoned to meet at the palace of Attigny, upon the Aisne, early in the following year, till which time no hostilities were to be attempted on either side.

This revived the hopes of Charles, who placed a firm reliance on the affection of his subjects, and the equity of the nation, which began to evince a strong attachment to his interests. The diet assembled at the appointed time; but Lothaire neglected to attend it, though it was convened at his request. This violation of his word, together with a second attempt to gain over the nobles of Paris, at length convinced the two kings that it was necessary they should unite their utmost endeavors to restrain the ambition of their eldest brother. A junction of their forces was accordingly effected, on the confines of Lorraine; where, though greatly superior in number to Lothaire, they made the most equitable proposals of accommodation. To these the Italian monarch pretended to listen; but he only waited till the son of Pepin had joined him with a strong reinforcement from Aquitaine, when he suddenly put a stop to the negotiation, and advanced to the plains of Fontenay, a village in the Auxerrois,

where a most bloody and obstinate engagement took place. The cause of justice prevailed, and Louis and Charles were left masters of the field.

It has been pretended, by some modern writers, that one hundred thousand men fell in the battle; but this must be a gross exaggeration, as Nithard, a cotemporary author, who was present at the action, takes no notice of a circumstance that, if true, could not have escaped his attention.

Lothaire, compelled to fly, took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he exerted his utmost efforts to give new strength to his declining party. As the Saxons had been partly compelled to embrace Christianity, he sought to secure their assistance by permitting them to renew their ancient laws and customs.

When by his intrigues, he had collected a sufficient force, he made an unsuccessful attempt on the borders of Bavaria; then directing his march towards Paris, he laid the whole country waste; till, being stopped by an inundation of the Seine, he was compelled to return, without accomplishing the object of his expedition.

Lothaire's design was to effect a division between the two kings his brothers, but all his efforts for this purpose proved fruitless. Charles and Louis, convinced that their common safety depended on their union, solemnly confirmed the league that subsisted between them, and renewed their alliance, by an oath drawn up in their respective languages: Louis swore in the *Roman* language, that he might be understood by the French to whom his oath was addressed; and Charles in the *Tudescan*, to render himself intelligible to his brother's subjects. The two princes, though of superior force, again sought to bring their brother to an accommodation; but he proudly refused to admit their ambassadors to an audience, and even dismissed them with ignominy. An insult so gross excited universal indignation; the troops of Louis and Charles loudly demanded to be led against the man whom they justly considered as the author of those troubles to which the empire was exposed. Their leaders cheer-

fully complied with their request; the army was put in motion; and, on its approach, the Bishop of Mayence, who had been appointed to guard the banks of the Moselle, deserted his post, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Lothaire, unable to resist the torrent, left his palace at Sinsik, and took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle; but, hearing that his brothers were advancing, he stripped his fathers magnificent palace of all its valuable effects and retired towards the Rhone, with the intention, if pursued, to pass on to Italy. A doubt now arose in the minds of the conquerors, from the uncertainty whether they ought to take possession of a country which there was no one to dispute with them, or to restore it to a brother who had left it from his inability to defend it. This knotty point was referred to the decision of the bishops; the episcopal character, according to the prevailing superstition of the times, being gifted with superior knowledge, as well on political and martial affairs as on ecclesiastical matters.

From this absurd idea was derived that enormous extent of authority possessed by the prelates, who, being empowered to decide on all questions of whatever nature, found the means of turning everything to their own advantage.

Princes themselves increased, by their conduct, the ambition of the hierarchy; and, by accepting crowns from the hands of the bishops, gave them the power to dispose of them. Such prelates as followed the court assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to decide on the fate of Lothaire; and they all declared, with one voice, that he had forfeited his right to the crown, and that his subjects were consequently absolved from their oaths of allegiance. They next asked Louis and Charles if they would promise to govern with greater justice than Lothaire; to this the monarchs, of course, replied in the affirmative; and the bishop, who presided, then said—"We permit you, by divine authority, to reign in the place of your brother, to govern his kingdom according to the will of God—We exhort you, we command you to do so."—In virtue of this arbitrary decision, which established

a most dangerous precedent, and showed, in the monarchs who submitted to it, an astonishing degree of imbecility, the provinces which Lothaire had abandoned were equally divided between the brothers. But this partition was speedily changed, for the emperor, conscious of his own inability to maintain a war against forces so superior to his own, made his pride subservient to his interest, and now humbly solicited that accommodation which he had so recently rejected with disdain. His brothers, sincerely wishing for the restoration of tranquillity, listened to his proposals with joy; and the three monarchs meeting at Verdun, a new division of the empire took place. Charles, surnamed the Bald, was secured in the possession of Paris, Aquitaine and Septimania, and consequently King of France; to Lothaire were confirmed, with the title of emperor, all Italy, Provence, French Comte, the Lyonnois, and all that country which lies within the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Saone, the Meuse, and the Scheld; and Bavaria, with the rest of Germany, was assigned to Louis—when he acquired the appellation of “Louis the German.” To this territory were annexed the cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spire, with their dioceses, merely for the purpose of supplying him with wine, no vineyards having been yet planted in any part of his German dominions.

Abelard, a nobleman of Aquitaine, whose granddaughter Ermentrude, Charles had recently married, acted as a mediator between the contending parties, and promoted the conclusion of the present treaty, by which the flames of civil war were for the present extinguished. For seventeen years of the reign of Charles, his kingdom suffered continually from revolts, incursions and depredations. At this time Lothaire was seized with a dangerous disease.

Alarmed at the prospect of death, he resigned the imperial sceptre, and assumed the monastic habit, in the abbey of Prum, where he expired before the conclusion of the first week of his monastic life, in the sixty-first year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign.

Before his death, he had divided his dominions between his three sons. Louis succeeded him to the empire; to Lothaire he bequeathed the kingdom of Austrasia; and to Charles, Burgundy and Provence. Their uncles, faithful to the engagements they had contracted at Verdun, suffered them to take possession of their respective dominions without opposition.

Charles, oppressed with mortification, anxiety and fatigue, was seized on his journey from Italy, where he had been summoned by the Roman pontiff to his protection from the Saracens, with a violent fever; and Sedicias, his physician, by birth a Jew, betraying the confidence of his master, administered as a febrifuge a dose of poison, of which he died in the cottage of a peasant, at a small village of Brios, in the thirty-eighth year of a turbulent reign, and in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Charles had six sons by his Queen Ermentrude, of whom only Louis, his successor, survived him. Charles, says Pasquier, had few virtues, and many defects. He was ambitious and enterprising, but weak, timid, and irresolute; capable of conceiving great projects, but destitute of spirit and ability to put them into execution.

From his reign may be dated the dangerous augmentation of ecclesiastical arrogance, and the rapid decline of the Carlovingian race.

LOUIS THE SECOND.

SURNAMED THE STAMMERER.

A. D. 877.] As soon as Louis was apprised of his father's death, he repaired to Compeigne, where he assembled the nobles and prelates of the realm, in order to proceed to the ceremony of proclamation. Though his right to the throne was incontestable, he thought it necessary to secure the attachment of the nobles, by profusely lavishing the honor and estates of the crown.

Italy, during this time, was without a sovereign; governed by Pope John the Eighth. John, under the influence of the church, endeavored in vain to raise his son to the imperial dignity; but his measures were strenuously opposed by Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, and Aldebert, Marquis of Tuscany. The pontiff, unable to resist the power of these nobles, abandoned Rome, and embarked for France.

The reception of Pope John was such as he might naturally have expected from a monarch whose cause he had espoused with ardor. In a council assembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff presided, and the authority and influence of the church were not neglected by its holy father. Among the various canons framed to support the episcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all secular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, should observe the respect due to bishops; and all persons, however high their rank, were precluded from sitting down in their presence without permission.

But although the pope repeated at the desire of Louis the ceremony of his coronation, and placed with his own hands the crown on his head, yet his fervor soon cooled towards a prince

whom he discovered to be destitute of power and capacity ; and his interests induced him to seek a more effectual support in the friendship of the factions and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the Vatican, which he brandished against the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the sovereign, than dismay the conspirators ; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to respect the distress of Rome, and to unsheath the sword against the presumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy. During the pope's visit to France, the marriage of Carloman, the son of Louis, with a daughter of Boson, was celebrated at Troyes with great magnificence. After the council was dissolved, Louis repaired to Compeigne to receive the report of the ambassadors whom he had sent into Germany to negotiate a peace.

The answer they brought was favorable to his wishes ; and the two monarchs meeting at Merzen, a treaty was concluded, which they signed at Fornou, a royal mansion, situated between Maestricht, and Aix-la-Chapelle. With regard to the kingdom of Lorraine, it was agreed, that the partition which had been made between Charles the Bald and Louis the German, should be strictly adhered to ; in Provence each party was to keep possession of what he then enjoyed ; and it was determined, that in Italy matters should remain as they were, till the next year, when a council should be convened, which the four sovereigns of the house of Charlemagne were to be invited to attend. Bernard, Marquis of Septimania, notwithstanding the anathema that had been pronounced against him at the council of Troyes, notwithstanding the sentence by which Louis had deprived him of his estates, still kept an army on foot, and set the power of the king at defiance. As Louis advanced at the head of his troops to chastise the insolence and audacity of this rebellious subject, he was seized at Troyes with a disorder that speedily proclaimed his approaching dissolution.

He sent his eldest son Louis into Burgundy, under the conduct of Duke Boson, and of Bernard, Count of Auvergne, the

abbot Hugh, Thierri his grand chamberlaine, and some other noblemen; then ordering his attendants to convey him to Compeigne he there died—not without suspicions of being poisoned—on Good Friday, in the second year of his reign, and the thirty-first of his age. He was interred in the abbey of Saint Corneille. Louis had by Ansegarde two sons, Louis and Carloman; and Charles distinguished by the opprobrious epithet of *simple*, born some months after the death of his father.

LOUIS THE THIRD AND CARLOMAN.

A. D. 879.] The king, on his death-bed, had commissioned Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, and Count Albruin, to carry the crown and sceptre, with the other emblems of royalty, to his eldest son Louis, whose coronation he ordered them to forward with the utmost expedition.

To the accomplishment of these orders no possible opposition could have occurred, had not the kingdom been divided by two powerful factions; one of which was headed by Duke Boson, Hugh the Abbot, Thierri the Grand Chamberlain, and Bernard, Count of Auvergne: the leaders of the other were Gauzelin, Abbot of Saint Denis, and Conrad, Count of Paris.

These last, having met at Creil, invited Louis of Germany into the kingdom, who accordingly advanced as far as Metz, where he experienced the most flattering reception. Their apology for thus inviting an usurper to fill the throne of their lawful sovereign, was founded on the incapacity and inexperience of the children of Louis, and the known prudence, valor and

moderation of the German prince. Such was their pretext—but the real motives of their treacherous conduct were interest, and a desire of revenge. Boson, however, and the others of his party, being determined to fulfil the last injunctions of the deceased monarch, repaired to Meaux, in order to deliberate on the dangers which threatened the state. The news of the invasion by Louis, filled them with alarm; and having no army to impede his progress, they resolved to purchase his forbearance by ceding to him that part of the kingdom of Lorraine, which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. This proposal was accepted; and the king immediately returned to Germany, where his presence was required. The report of this second irruption spread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. The nobles, who had preserved their fidelity to the family of the deceased monarch, saw no other remedy for the calamities which threatened them than the speedy coronation of the young princes. The king, on his death-bed, had appointed his eldest son Louis his sole successor; but the dread of displeasing Boson, by the exclusion of his son-in-law Carloman, induced the nobles to adopt the resolution of placing them both on the throne, and of dividing the kingdom between them, according to the ancient custom of the realm. It was this division, so difficult to make, that had urged them to delay their inauguration so long; and even now they were under the necessity of deferring it to a future time. The princes, therefore, were sent to the Abbey of Ferrieres, where they were anointed and crowned by Ansegise, Archbishop of Sens. At this time they had attained their fifteenth and sixteenth year. The courts of their respective dominions were not fixed till the following year. Aquitaine and Burgundy were allotted to Carloman, and France and Neustria to Louis. Such was the state of affairs in France, when Boson, taking advantage of the minority of the young princes, at length revealed his perfidious designs. Promises, presents, entreaties and threats were so opportunely and successfully exerted, that—“*by the sacred council of Mante, in the district of Vienne, assembled in the name of our Lord, and*

by inspiration of his Divine Majesty," he was elected and crowned King of Provence. This election was made and confirmed by the Archbishops of Vienne, Lyons, and by all the prelates south of the Rhine; by which the extent of the new monarchy may be known. It is sometimes denominated in history, the kingdom of Arles, from the name of its capital; and at others the kingdom of Provence. Thus the sons of Louis beheld themselves with indignation despoiled of the fairest part of their inheritance, by the sword of a powerful neighbor, and the intrigues of a faithless kinsman. The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invasion, prepared to chastise the insolence of domestic rebellion. Strengthened by their new allies, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their presumptuous vassal. The confederate forces, assisted by those of Charles, King of Italy, formed the siege of Vienne, defended with masculine valor by Hermengarde, the consort of Boson. But the princes were soon compelled to separate, and while the continuance of the siege devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Louis, with a considerable detachment, directed his march against the Normans. But the promising virtues of this youthful monarch were cut off by a premature death. As he was hastening to assist the Duke of Brittany, in the expulsion of the Normans from the banks of the Loire, he was seized with a fever, that compelled him to attempt a return to Paris.

He was conveyed to Saint Denis in a litter, and there expired in the twenty-second year of his age, and the third of his reign. The loss of this prince was deeply deplored by his subjects, who admired his virtue, his valor and moderation. Louis dying without children, no opposition was made to the accession of Carloman; accordingly that prince was crowned King of France. Carloman lived to enjoy the sole monarchy but a short time, for within two years of the death of his brother, as he was enjoying the amusement of the chase, an erring javelin aimed at

the boar, by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in six days brought him to a premature grave.

The memory of this prince is endeared to us by the pious deceit which he practised on his death-bed: He endeavored to screen from the mistaken resentment of the public, his unfortunate domestic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he pursued.

CHARLES THE FAT.

A. D. 884.] Had a proper respect been paid to the rules of succession, Charles, surnamed the Simple, the posthumous son of Louis the Second, would, on the decease of his brothers without children, have ascended the throne of France. But the kingdom being incessantly exposed to the depredations of the Normans, it was deemed imprudent to fix the diadem on the brows of an infant, and the emperor Charles of Italy, Germany and Lorraine, whose age was mature, and whose power extensive, was called upon to succeed the generous Carloman.

Prompt to obey the pleasing citation, he hastened to Gondreville, where he received the homage of the nobles, together with their oaths of allegiance.

Charles the Simple remained under the care of Hugh the Abbot, who was confirmed by the emperor in his government of that part of Neustria which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and which was then called the Duchy of France.

Charles was now become one of the most powerful princes in the world; but his capacity was greatly unequal to the extent of

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his empire; and that good fortune which ought to have increased his authority only tended to expose his weakness. Sigefroy, at this time, in order to revenge the assassination of his brother Godfrey, Duke of Holland, entered the Seine with a fleet of seven hundred sail, and spread his devastations as far as Paris; and after having taken and burned the town of Pontoise, he laid siege to that city. Paris was then but a small island, comprehending that part of the present metropolis which is distinguished by the appellation of the city. It was approached by two wooden bridges, the present *Pont au Change*, and the *Petit Pont*, each of which was defended by a strong and lofty tower. The siege was pressed by Sigefroy with uncommon vigor. By a skillful exertion of their battering machines a breach was made in the walls. But three furious attempts to enter it were rendered abortive by the persevering valor of the Parisians, who were headed by Eudes, Count of Paris, and Bishop Gauzelin, who not only animated the people by his exhortations, but roused them by his example. This martial prelate was frequently seen on the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his girdle, driving back the enemy from a cross which he had planted on the ramparts. He was seconded by many a valiant knight, who signalized his courage on this trying occasion; but his nephew, the Abbe Elbe, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner, and by the prodigies of valor he performed, excited the astonishment of his friends, and spread terror and dismay through the enemy's ranks.

Never was greater fury displayed in attack, nor greater constancy and firmness in defence, than at this memorable siege, which lasted a year and a half, and during which the Parisians experienced all the horrors of pestilence and famine. The emperor, in the meantime, remained in the vicinity of Frankfort, from whence he contented himself with sending such supplies as the capital required.

Twice was Count Henry dispatched with provision and troops for the relief of the garrison. The first time he succeeded, but in his

second attempt he was surprised, and with his whole army cut to pieces. The news of the death of this intrepid young nobleman at length determined the king to march in person; and the hopes of the Parisians were revived by his appearance on the Mount of Mars, which is now called *Montmartre*.

Yet Sigefroy beheld the hostile standards with an undaunted countenance, and steadfastly maintained his station before the gates of the city.

The emperor, awed by the firmness of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed, basely consented to purchase a peace which he might have commanded. On condition of receiving seven thousand pounds' weight of silver, the Normans gladly consented to a peace; and as the money could not be immediately paid, Charles allowed them to pass the winter in Burgundy, where they committed the most dreadful devastations. After the conclusion of this shameful treaty, the emperor returned to Germany loaded with the contempt and hatred of the French. His German subjects were soon impressed with similar sentiments; and they began to look upon him as a man wholly unfit for the station he enjoyed. A timid disposition and an ill state of health, confined him constantly to his palace. Incessantly tormented with the fear of the devil, whom he fancied he had seen in his youth, and conscious of his own inability to support the burden of a vast empire, he gave up the reins of government to Ludard, Bishop of Verceil. That minister exerted a despotic sway in the emperor's name, and those who were anxious to dethrone the prince began by attacking his favorite. The bishop was accordingly accused of holding a criminal intercourse with the empress; and as Charles was particularly delicate in that point, he was easily induced to believe what he dreaded, and, indeed, what he deserved. The prelate was banished from court, and the princess repudiated. She retired to the abbey of Audlaw, in Alsace, which she had richly endowed, where she died, highly esteemed for her prudence and virtue. Now that Charles was deprived of the advice and assistance of his minister, the native imbecility of his mind be-

came visible to every one. He even became conscious of it himself, and this idea inspired him with the most melancholy reflections.

Having convoked a parliament at Tribur, between Mayence and Oppenheim, the nobles and prelates who were present remarked the uneasiness that appeared in his countenance, and the defect in his understanding, and pronouncing him unfit for royalty, began to deliberate without delay on the choice of a successor to the throne.

Charles the Simple was indisputably the lawful heir, but his youth being still regarded as a bar to his succession, all the efforts of his friends proved inadequate to procure him the crown of France.

The sole descendant (in a direct line) from Charlemagne was thus excluded from the dominions of his ancestors, which were now offered to Arnoul, a natural son of Carloman, in direct violation of the rules established under the second race of kings, which deprived natural children of all rank in society, and consequently placed an effectual impediment in their way to the throne.

Arnoul accepted with joy that sceptre which he was actually preparing to wrest from its lawful possessor; and the revolt was so general that, in less than three days, his authority was acknowledged through the whole extent of Germany. Charles in the meantime was reduced to the most dreadful situation. Driven from his palace, without a servant to attend him in his illness, he was deprived of the mere necessities of life, and yet was afraid to ask for assistance; nor did any one dare to afford him relief, through fear of incurring suspicions of disaffection to the usurper. An application to Arnoul at length procured him the assignment of a few petty fiefs in Germany, whose revenues scarcely afforded him a miserable subsistence.

Grief, or (as some writers have asserted), *poison* brought him to the grave in the fourth year of his reign, and in three months from the time of his deposal. He was interred in the monastery of Richenoue, situated on an island in the Lake of Constance. On

the death of this prince the kingdom became a prey to the ambitious machinations of the nobles. Though the sovereign authority had been almost unanimously voted to Arnoul, yet numerous rivals now started up to dispute his power, and lay claim to the vacant throne.

But Eudes, son of Robert, Count of Anjou, and brother to Charles Martel, enjoyed the esteem and affection of the people, and bore away the palm from his numerous competitors.

EUDES.

A. D. 887.] At a parliament assembled at Compeigne, the nobles and prelates of the realm proceeded to the election of a monarch; and Eudes, Count of Paris and Orleans, and Duke of Burgundy, was declared to be the object of their choice. To the remembrance of his father, Robert, who had died in defending the state from the depredations of the Normans, and to the glorious feats which he himself had achieved, in the defence of the capital, was this nobleman indebted for the crown. The ceremony of his consecration was performed at Sens, by Vatier, archbishop of that diocese.

The prudent precautions adopted by Eudes, on his accession to the throne, were well calculated to secure the possession of it.

He publicly protested that, having been appointed guardian to young Charles, he only accepted the diadem with the view of restoring it to the lawful heir, so soon as he should be sufficiently old to govern the kingdom. Threatened with a destructive war by the Germans, he sent to Arnoul, and assured him that if his

nomination to the throne was likely to disturb the tranquillity of France, he was ready to resign the sceptre. He even went to Worms, where he had an interview with Arnoul, into whose hands he surrendered the crown, solemnly swearing that he would never wear it but with his free consent. The King of Germany, flattered by this mark of deference and condescension, restored the diadem, and promised to forbear from all kind of opposition to the government of Eudes. This prince began his reign by an earnest endeavor to repress the insolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. At the head of one thousand horse, he defeated an army of twenty thousand Normans in the forest of Montfaucon; and this glorious victory would have been attended with extensive advantages, had not Eudes been hastily recalled from the pursuit by a revolt in Aquitaine. His presence restored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had taken advantage of his absence, and erected their victorious banners on the walls of Meaux, Toul and Verdun. Even Paris itself was again insulted by the licentious arms of these northern adventurers. Their destructive incursions into Lorraine were successfully repelled by the King of Germany; but in France, a scene of anarchy and discord presented itself on every side. The nobles of each province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbors. An insurrection in Provence at this time was followed by violent commotions, excited by the nobles of Paris. Count Walgaire, though related to Eudes, was the first to take up arms in favor of the infant Charles; but having seized the important city of Laon, it was besieged by Eudes, who speedily compelled the garrison to surrender, and sentenced Walgaire to lose his head. Aquitaine once more erected the standard of revolt; thither the monarch repaired at the head of a victorious army, and had reduced all the rebels to fly before him, and take shelter in a single town, when he was summoned back to Paris, where the malcontents, more irritated than terrified at the fate of Walgaire, had

openly espoused the cause of the lawful heir to the throne. Charles, only thirteen years of age, was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by the archbishop, who published a long apology for his conduct, and exhorted all the sovereigns of the earth to undertake the defence of his pupil against the usurper.

CHARLES THE THIRD.

SURNAMED THE SIMPLE.

A. D. 893.] The King of Germany was highly displeased with the archbishop. He accordingly wrote to that prelate, threatening to make him feel the effects of such conduct. The archbishop replied,—that seeing the kingdom exposed to the depredations of the Normans, he had thought it his duty to consent to the coronation of Eudes, who was alone capable of defending the state; but that Charles, having now attained an age at which, with the assistance of his ministers, he might safely be entrusted with the reins of government, he could not refuse to comply with the unanimous request of the nobles who called him to the throne of his ancestors; and that, at a time when so many subjects aspired to the crown, he deemed it dangerous and improper for him to set an example of infidelity to the lawful heir. These arguments, however, were insufficient to convince the ambitious monarch; but the commotions in Italy, and the revolt of some tributary states, induced him to dissemble.

He saw the army of Eudes on the point of attacking the royal-

ists, and he resolved to wait the event of the action before he declared himself.

Victory decided in favor of Eudes, and the youthful king was compelled to take refuge at the court of Germany. Charles, after remaining some time in exile, returned to France, and took possession of the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy; and Eudes himself, through the persuasions of the Archbishop of Rheims, soon after extinguished the torch of discord by acknowledging the sovereignty of that prince, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. He survived but a short time to enjoy the tranquillity established by his own moderation. Three months after his abdication, he expired at La Fere, in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age—esteemed by the Normans whom he had vanquished, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated, yet dreaded, by the nobility whose oppressions he had firmly opposed. This reunion of the kingdoms might have been productive of the greatest advantages, had the power of the monarch been sufficient to restrain the daring attempts of his ambitious nobles; but the weakness of the government tended to increase their arrogance, and their audacity was carried to such a height, that in a short time the kingdom was divided into a number of petty sovereignties, each of which asserted its independence of the crown.

Hence all was anarchy and confusion. The authority of the king was reduced to a shadow, and the strength of the nation nearly annihilated. Such was the state of France when attacked by an enemy, who, to the most intrepid courage, united the most extensive views. Rolla was a powerful chieftain, who had been originally possessed of an independent principality in Denmark, of which the cruelty and perfidy of the reigning monarch had unjustly deprived him. Compelled to take refuge in a remote corner of Scandinavia, he resolved to repair the loss he had sustained by following the example of his countrymen in committing depredations on the more southern coasts of Europe. His

first attempt was on England, in the latter end of the reign of Alfred; but finding the island in a proper posture of defence, and governed by a wise and courageous prince, he prudently desisted from his enterprise, and repaired to France, where he was suffered to spread his destructive ravages over the greatest part of the kingdom with impunity. He continued his devastations for some years with uninterrupted success, which so harassed the French, that they at length compelled their sovereign to sue for peace. As Rolla was victorious, he imposed such terms on Charles as best suited his convenience.

A cession of territory was an object he insisted on; and the king was reduced to purchase a peace by the sacrifice of one of his most fertile provinces.

A greater part of the extensive country of Neustria was yielded to the Dane, which was thenceforward denominated Normandy, from its new inhabitants, and consisted of all the province which now bears that name, excepting the small district of Bayeaux, which did not fall under the dominion of the Norman dukes till many years after. For this he was required to do homage to the crown; and he repaired to Clair-upon-Epte (where this disgraceful treaty was signed) for that purpose. In order to attach Rolla more firmly to his interests, Charles gave him his daughter Gisele in marriage; but required his conversion to Christianity as a previous condition.

This was cheerfully complied with by the Norman, who accordingly received baptism from the hands of Francis, Archbishop of Rouen, and was named Robert, from Robert, Count of Paris, who answered for him at the baptism font.

“The grace of this holy sacrament,” says Mezeray, “operated so powerful a regeneration in Rolla that ‘he became one of the best princes of the age.’”

Certain it is that he governed his newly-acquired territories with great equity and moderation.

He treated the French, who submitted to his sway, with justice and lenity; and, reclaiming his followers from those inveterate

habits of plunder to which they had been accustomed from their cradle, effected the establishment of good order and salutary laws throughout his dominions. The only flaw in the character of Rolla, was his barbarity to his wife, who died of a broken heart, in consequence of his ill treatment; and when Charles sent two of his officers to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of his conduct, he had them both put to death.

Charles might have maintained a successful struggle with his enemies, but for the treachery of Herbert, Count of Vermandois. This nobleman, being resolved to seize the person of his sovereign, sent the Count of Senlis to assure him of his loyalty, and of his readiness to declare in his favor, together with his numerous vassals. Surprised at the news, the fugitive prince at first hesitated; but as the count was his relation, being descended, like himself, in a right line from Charlemagne, he was at length prevailed on to dismiss his fears and to give the meeting requested at Saint Quintin. There the reception he experienced from the perfidious Herbert tended to confirm his hopes, and diminish his scruples.

But he had no sooner dismissed his followers, than his person was seized, and during the night secretly conveyed to Chateau Thierri. Herbert, after this act of baseness, repaired to the court of Burgundy, to congratulate the new monarch on the capture of his rival. The unfortunate Charles was soon after removed from Chateau Thierri to confinement at Peronne, where he died soon after, a sacrifice to the ambition of his nobles. He was in the fiftieth year of his age and thirtieth of his reign. By Egiva, sister to Athelstan, King of England, he had Louis *d'Outre-Mer*. This monarch was buried at the abbey of Saint Fourcy. Egiva, with her infant, repaired to England in order to secure him from the rage of faction, and treachery of pretended friends.

RODOLPH.

A. D. 923.] Historians give us a very short account of the reign of this monarch. At an assembly of nobles, convened for the purpose of selecting from among the neighboring princes, one suitable for their purpose, they elected Rodolph or Raoul, who was accordingly proclaimed king at Rheims. The whole empire at this time was in a state of warfare. Rodolph was continually employed either in the repression of domestic feuds, or the repulsion of foreign invasions. Having repelled an attempt of the Normans to extend their domains, he repaired to Lorraine, whither he was invited by the nobles, and, having reduced a great part of that kingdom, he compelled the King of Germany to demand a cessation of hostilities. He next turned his arms against William, Duke of Aquitaine, who, unable to oppose his superior strength, averted his resentment by a feigned submission, and extorted homage.

It was at this period a cruel and indigested government, where force alone was acknowledged as law; an heterogeneous mixture of monarchy and oligarchy, where every one proportioned the extent of his power to his ability in acquiring it.

Such is the consequence of usurpation, and of a deviation from established rules and lawful authority.

Rodolph died at Auxerre in the twelfth year of a turbulent and boisterous reign.

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LOUIS THE FOURTH.

A. D. 936.] Louis was but fifteen when called to the throne of his ancestors; he had been absent from his native country thirteen years. He was attended by a large number of nobles and prelates to Laon, where he was crowned by Artaud, Archbishop of Rheims.

To discharge his obligations to the Duke of France, and to secure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him minister, and committed to his hands the reins of government. The Duke of Burgundy had presumed on an infant reign to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to seize the city of Langres. The insult was resented by the Duke of France, who, at the head of a powerful army, penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchase an ignominious peace, by the cession of a great part of that fertile duchy. But Louis soon became tired of remaining under the tuition of this ambitious subject, who wished to keep him constantly at Paris, where he was sole master.

The young king had privately secured the Duke of Normandy, and the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Poitiers, who, jealous of the minister's power, cheerfully united in order to release him from the state of captivity in which he was held.

He accordingly withdrew to Laon, where he was met by his mother Egiva. The duke, more astonished than alarmed at this circumstance, only sought to increase his power by the influence of fear. He found means to gain over the inconstant and perfidious Herbert, who had sufficient influence to make the Normans forsake the interest of the king.

They were joined by Gilbert, Duke of Lorraine, and Otho, King of Germany. As soon as the season would permit, the confederated princes began their march towards those parts where the king's authority was most acknowledged. Louis advanced to meet them, not with a powerful army, but with a band of bishops, whose *spiritual* weapons were exerted with greater success than the *temporal* swords and pikes of the troops. These formidable prelates sent to inform the Duke of Normandy and the Count of Vermandois, that they should excommunicate both of them—the first, for having burned some towns in Flanders; and the last, for unjustly retaining certain possessions belonging to the abbey of Saint Rhemi, at Rheims. This extraordinary interference of the ecclesiastical power, and the effect it produced, are strongly characteristic of the spirit of the times.

The rebels, alarmed at their threats, remained in suspense. The laws of honor, ever sacred; the obligation of an oath, the firmest bond of society; the love of justice; a regard for their duty—all these potent considerations had proved insufficient to deter them from taking up arms against their sovereign—while the fear of excommunication, the motives for which were probably unjust, checked in a moment the uplifted arm of rebellion.

Prince Hugh, for that was the title he assumed, observing the indecision of his associates, proposed an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed on. Louis employed this interval of tranquillity in securing the kingdom of Lorraine, whose inhabitants invited him to reign over them.

While he advanced to Verdun, an English fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders, in order to protect those maritime towns of Lorraine which had declared for the king. The first offensive and defensive treaty between France and England was concluded during this reign; till when, but little intercourse, except such as was merely commercial, had subsisted between the two kingdoms. William, Duke of Normandy, surnamed Long Sword, had greatly contributed to the restoration of tranquillity; but that wise prince did not live long to enjoy the salutary effects of his

interference, being assassinated at an interview with Arnoul, Count of Flanders, on the river Somme. He left an infant son named Richard, whom Louis took under his protection, and conducted to Laon, where he kept him in close confinement.

Richard, however, was preserved from the evil intentions of Louis, by the vigilance of his governor, Osman, who, in the disguise of a groom, escaped with his pupil, concealed in a truss of hay, and, mounting him on a fleet horse, conveyed him in safety to the friendly castle of Bernard, Count of Senlis. Still, hostilities continued with unabated ardor, though without any other success than the desolation of fertile provinces. But Hugh's treachery so far prevailed, that the crown was within his grasp, and he was strenuously urged to seize it by his numerous partisans. Louis, in this dilemma, was reduced to the dangerous and degrading necessity of having recourse to the authority of the church.

He repaired to the council of Ingelheim, which had been convened by the Pope, where he heard the Pope's legate read aloud the instructions he had received from his master, who delegated to himself the power of crowning and deposing sovereigns. The French monarch demanded justice for the daring attempts of an arbitrary subject who had usurped his authority, and left him but the empty title of king. The fathers, moved by his situation, threatened to excommunicate his rebellious vassal, unless he instantly appeared before the council and justified his conduct. Hugh, refusing to comply with the citation, the sentence of excommunication was issued against him that same year, by the council of Treves, and afterwards confirmed at Rome. Hugh, alarmed for the consequences of this proceeding, which, though he despised it himself, he knew had great influence on the minds of the people, consented to an accommodation with Louis, to whom he restored the castle of Laon, and whom he acknowledged for his sovereign. But still he cherished a secret enmity, which lasted till the death of that prince, who perished by a singular accident.

One of the sons of Louis having died at Laon, he determined in future to reside at Rheims. As he approached that city, he saw a wolf, which he immediately followed on full gallop, when his horse stumbled and threw him. The injury proved fatal. Being carried to the archbishop's palace, he there expired in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. He was interred in the church of Saint Remi. Louis was possessed of many good qualities: his courage was undaunted, and his political talents were far from contemptible.

The misfortunes of his reign proceeded chiefly from a facility of disposition, which laid him open to deceit—a defect, not uncommon in virtuous minds, though seldom to be found in those of a contrary description.

Louis had, by his Queen Gerberge, five sons; two only survived him, Lothaire, who succeeded to the crown, and Charles, who was unjustly excluded from the throne of his ancestors. Lothaire was only in his fourteenth year, and Charles but a year old, at the decease of their father.

Whatever was the cause of the exclusion of Charles, this example, which experience has proved to be so highly beneficial, has since become a custom, sanctioned by the positive laws of the realm.

LOTHAIRE.

A. D. 954.] Hugh, still Duke of France, and thereby guardian to the young prince, might easily have placed the diadem on his own brow; but afraid to assume a title which could not fail to ensure him the enmity and resentment of the nobles, he chose to confer the regal dignity on the lawful heir, and Lothaire was accordingly crowned at Rheims. Still, that imperious nobleman preserved his extensive authority; and, in addition to the dignities he already possessed, he now acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, which was taken from the family of the Counts of Poitiers, in order to gratify his ambition. Such was the degree of grandeur to which Hugh had attained, when he expired at Dourdan, little regretted by the king, on whose prerogatives he infringed, though greatly lamented by his numerous friends. It is said of him that he reigned twenty years without being a king. The reign of Lothaire is marked by no event of importance.

His authority being almost confined to Paris and its environs, he was long a quiet spectator of the wars between his powerful vassals. He made an unsuccessful attempt on Aquitaine; and, after seeking in vain to gain possession of the person of Richard, Duke of Normandy, he was at length compelled to secure that duchy to him and his heirs. In Flanders, his efforts were more fortunate; he reduced Arras, Douay, and several other strong places, and obliged Count Baldwin the Third to sue for peace and mercy.

On his return from this expedition, he concluded, at Cologne, a treaty of marriage with the Princess Emma, daughter of Lothaire, King of Italy. The nuptials were celebrated some

months after, and were succeeded by a perfect calm in the empire, which lasted several years; and which alone sufficed to prove the great capacity of a monarch, who, possessed of only a few towns, and a very small army, was able to repress the ambitious attempts of his nobles, and keep within due bounds those haughty vassals who had so long preserved a state of independence.

But the vigorous exertions of Lothaire were productive of no solid advantage. He reduced all the towns of Lorraine, but was unable to keep them, not having sufficient troops to supply them with garrisons. Besides, circumstances were unfavorable to long expeditions; as the vassals were only obliged to keep the field for a certain time. Before he dismissed his nobles, he repaired to Compeigne, where he associated his son Louis, a boy of twelve years old, with him in the empire. A peace was at length concluded between Lothaire and Otho, to whom he ceded the kingdom of Lorraine, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the crown of France.

Notwithstanding this treaty, he soon after made an irruption into that devoted country, where he committed great devastations, and took the town of Verdun. This was the last memorable exploit of his reign. He died the following year at Rheims, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign.

He was buried in the church of Saint Remi, where his tomb may still be seen. Lothaire was distinguished for his courage, activity and vigilance; his projects were well concerted, and his actions were generally marked by wisdom, spirit and perseverance.

LOUIS THE FIFTH.

A. D. 986.] Louis, on his accession to the throne, neither possessed the good qualities of his father nor the esteem of his people. The contempt to which his restless and turbulent disposition had given rise, would have excluded him from the succession, but for the interposition of Hugh Capet, who took him under his protection. To this prince was the care of the king's person confided, while the regency of the kingdom devolved on the queen-dowager. But Emma being accused of improprieties with Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, was soon driven from her station with ignominy and disgrace.

An army of Germans was at this time preparing to march into France, when the death of the young monarch, in the twenty-first year of his age, gave a new turn to affairs. He was buried in the church of St. Corneille, at Compeigne, where he was crowned. Historians of those days affirm that his death was owing to poison, administered either at the instigation of his mother, whom he had persecuted with great cruelty, or else by his wife Blanche, to whom he was an object of aversion. By his will Louis bequeathed his kingdom to Hugh Capet, to the exclusion of his uncle Charles. With the death of this prince ends the Carlovin-gian race. As he died without children, Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was the lawful heir to the throne ; but he had alienated the affections of the French by becoming a vassal of the German crown. In consequence of this conduct Hugh Capet took possession of the throne in accordance with the will of the deceased monarch. The illustrious race of the Carolingians had filled the throne of France for two hundred and thirty-six years. It

had been divided into three branches, which reigned over three separate kingdoms, Italy, Germany and France. It is remarkable, that the last monarch of each branch was named Louis. The kings of this line had seldom any residence; but were constantly traveling about on horseback, accompanied by their wives.

The fall of the Carlovingian race may chiefly be ascribed to the division of the empire into a number of independent states. United under one head, the very dread of its power would have maintained its importance; but, divided into small portions, it became impotent, and sunk into a state of insignificance. We have seen as many as five princes at a time of the blood of Charlemagne, wearing the crown. But what princes?—Natural sons, ambitious brothers and bad parents, who, intent on mutual destruction, taught their subjects to infringe on the sovereign authority, which was too feeble to repress their rebellious attempts. Hence the encroachments of the sovereign pontiffs, who, considering themselves as entitled to dispose of an empire of which at first they were but subjects, extended an authority merely spiritual over all temporal concerns. Hence, too, that enormous authority assumed by the prelates, who, after dethroning a parent at the solicitation of a child, claimed the right of electing, confirming, or deposing their masters. Swayed by ambition, they were better calculated to shine in the field than the pulpit; contemptible from their ignorance—scarcely able to read, much less to write—yet formidable, as well from their spiritual thunders, as from the temporal authority they had usurped over the dioceses and episcopal towns. This gave rise to those principalities, almost independent, which the monks erected in countries where, a few years before, they had been employed in the cultivation of a small portion of land, the gift of liberal piety.

CAPETIAN RACE.

HUGH CAPET.

A. D. 987.] In order to convey a just idea of the situation of the kingdom, at this period, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of its various divisions, on the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne. Flanders, comprehending all that country which lies between the Scheld, the Sea, and the Somme, was then governed by Arnoul, the second of his name.

The house of Vermandois was equally ancient and powerful. It derived its origin from Bernard, King of Italy, and possessed, besides the county of Senlis, and several districts in the isle of France, a great part of Picardy, all Brie, and nearly the whole of Champagne. Burgundy had also its dukes; and, so early as the time of Charles the Simple, it was governed by Richard the *Justiciary*, with almost sovereign power. Under Louis the Fourth, it passed into the family of Hugh, Duke of France. At this time it was enjoyed by Henry, on condition of his doing homage to his brother Hugh Capet.

The duchy of France comprehended, besides its extensive domains in Picardy and Champagne, the city and county of Paris, the Orleannois, the Chartrain, Perche, the county of Blois, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine. This vast fief rendered the kings of France more powerful than any of their sovereign neighbors. Normandy and Brittany had been ceded to Rolla the Dane; the former as an independent state, the second as a fief to the crown.

They were at present governed by Richard, brother-in-law to Hugh Capet. Aquitaine would indisputably have been one of the most considerable fiefs in the kingdom, had it been united under one chief.

On reading the ancient authors, we find, that formerly none but proper names were used. Under the second race of kings, an epithet was added, as a more evident mark of distinction; and this was either taken from the dignity or strength of the person, from his complexion, or from some personal quality.

Hence those names that so frequently occur in history, of Hugh the *Abbot*; Robert the *Strong*; Hugh the *White*; Hugh *Capet*. The epithet given to this last prince is said to be derived from the Latin word *Capito*, which literally means a large head, and figuratively a *sensible man*. Some writers affirm that he was thus named from a kind of hat which he first introduced. The nobles took theirs from their fiefs or lordships. The citizen his, either from the place of his birth, as *Le Picard*, *Le Normand*; or from his profession, as *Le Charron* (the wheelwright); *Le Meusnier* (the miller); or else from taunting appellations bestowed on him by his comrades, as *Le roi* (the king); *l'Evêque* (the bishop); or lastly, from some natural defect, as *Le camus* (flat-nosed); *Bossu* (hump-backed).

Such was the state of France at the time when the sceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne to the illustrious house which now retains it. In the present situation of the empire, both courage and address were requisite to remove those impediments which barred the approach of Hugh Capet to the throne.

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Hugh, having previously given orders to his principal vassals to be ready to assist him in case of necessity, found himself in a situation to assume the title of king, as soon as Louis was dead.

Advancing to Rheims with a considerable number of troops, he was there anointed and crowned King of France by Archbishop Adalberon. Hugh, conscious that his title was defective,

hastened to take every step which he thought could confirm his authority.

With this view he convened a parliament a few months subsequent to his coronation, in the city of Orleans, out of the reach of his rival, and in the midst of his own friends and dependents. There, by the unanimous advice of the assembly, his only son Robert was associated with him in the government, and was accordingly crowned by Seguin, Archbishop of Sens. But the new monarchs were not suffered long to enjoy in tranquillity the dominions they had thus acquired.

Charles armed in Lower Lorraine, and with him Arnoul, Count of Flanders, and Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who, being both descended from Charlemagne, determined to support the pretensions of the lawful heir. But unfortunately the first died at this critical conjuncture; and the second, who was father-in-law to Charles, was so much exposed to the vengeance of the two kings that he was afraid to declare himself openly. Charles, however, commenced the campaign; and with a powerful army, laid siege to Laon.

Hugh was sensibly afflicted at the news of the capture of Laon; of the consequence of which, at the commencement of his reign, he was fully aware. As no time was to be lost, he assembled his vassals, and advanced towards the enemy; but the prince defended himself with heroic courage; and, making a judicious sally on the besiegers, he burnt their quarters, put numbers of them to the sword, and obtained so complete a victory, that the whole army was put to flight, and Hugh with difficulty escaped the carnage.

Hugh immediately took measures for preventing the progress of this spirit of discontent, and, marching to Poitiers, he formed the siege of that city. But here, as at Laon, he was equally unsuccessful; being in want of provisions he was compelled to retire, without carrying his purposes. He accordingly made another attack on Laon, which, by the treachery of a prelate, proved fatal to his rival. Ascelin, the prelate above alluded to, a favorite of Charles and depository of his secrets, had long maintained an

epistolary correspondence with Hugh, whom he informed of everything that passed in the councils of his master; and particularly apprized him that the blind security which prevailed in the city of Laon would render it an easy conquest.

Hugh gratefully accepted the invitation; and the king was admitted by the perfidious prelate into the palace of his benefactor, in the night of Holy Thursday, when he was employed in the devotions appropriate to the day; and Charles and his family were immediately conducted to Senlis, and from thence to the tower of Orleans, where that prince, who was worthy of a better fate, died after a captivity of two years. Charles left four children: Otho, who succeeded him in the Duchy of Lorraine, and who died without heirs; Louis, who also died without children before his brother, and two daughters.

A mistaken principle of delicacy, founded on respect to the reigning family, has induced the generality of the French historians to sink the usurpation of Hugh Capet, and to exaggerate his virtues; as if the former would invalidate the title, or the latter enhance the reputation of his descendants. Even the Abbe Velly, whose spirit and good sense mostly rise superior to the little arts of adulation, and lead him to exert the dignified privilege of an historian, to enforce *truth* without regard to *rank*, has, in this instance, condescended to sanction, by his authority, the general prejudice.—Though he scorns to deviate from veracity, yet he has deigned to *palliate* a fact, by observing—that “in that age, Hugh was, *perhaps*, considered as an usurper.”—That his accession to the throne of France was stamped with the most glaring and indelible marks of usurpation, no one can deny.—To the crown he could have no possible claims by *descent*—and with regard to *election*, he dissolved, by force, that parliament which had met for the purpose of conferring it on the lawful heir. From the moment he associated his son with the regal authority, he abstained himself from the use of the ensigns of royalty; and, as a modern writer has justly observed, if some praise be due to the greatness of mind which scorned the pageantry of power, more

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will always be ascribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a crown unstained with blood, and who, in an age of violence, preserved the reputation of unblemished humanity.

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## ROBERT.

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A. D. 996.] Robert, on the death of his father, had just entered his twenty-seventh year. As his subjects were already accustomed to see him hold the reins of government, they acknowledged him for their sovereign without opposition or murmur.

But though the commencement of his reign was, by this means, exempt from domestic commotions, his happiness was interrupted by the intrigues of the sovereign pontiff. This prelate, in order to revenge an indignity which he considered had been offered to Archbishop Arnoul, and as a mark of his displeasure, evinced a disposition to annul the marriage of Robert with Bertha, widow of Eudes, Count of Chartres and Blois, and daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy. His pretext was, that Robert had stood godfather to a child of that princess; and that he was her cousin in the fourth degree—two impediments to a legal marriage, which a dispensation alone could remove. Robert, who was extremely fond of his wife, took every means to prevent a separation, in which his love and honor were interested. He thought by restoring Arnoul to his diocese, from which he had been deposed, a confirmation of that union in which his happiness was centred might be more easily obtained from the Pope; but this had no

effect on Gregory the Fifth, who was the creature of the Emperor Otho the Third, to whom he was related, and was wholly swayed by that monarch, and by Gerbert, who were both enemies to the reigning family. This *virtuous* pontiff had been expelled from his church by Crescens, Consul of Rome, who caused John the Sixteenth, a Greek monk named Philagathes, to be elected in his place; but Gregory was no sooner restored to his dignity than, after ordering the eyes of his competitor to be put out, and his nose and tongue to be cut off, he assembled a council, in which he annulled the marriage of the French monarch.

Robert, enraged at his insolence, refused to submit to a sentence which he justly regarded as an attack upon the majesty of the throne. Gregory, however, persisted, and by an infamous abuse of power, excommunicated the king, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; by which means the celebration of Divine service was stopped throughout the realm, the administration of the sacrament suspended, and the burial of the dead in consecrated ground forbidden. This was the first instance of such a sentence being enforced in France; and the nation was so alarmed, and so blinded by a degrading spirit of superstition, that the monarch was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his domestics. The alarm of the people, the defection of the nobles, and the well-founded dread of a general revolt, at length compelled the king to submit, and to dismiss his wife, who still preserved, notwithstanding, the title of queen. After their separation, Robert married Constance, daughter of William, Count of Provence, a woman of extraordinary beauty, but whose personal charms concealed a mind polluted by pride, vanity and caprice.

The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was at this time interrupted by Eudes, the second Count of Champagne, a son of Bertha, by her first husband.

This ambitious prince, desirous to open a communication between the Counts of Chartres, and La Brie, by securing a passage over the Seine, cast his eyes on Melun, which Hugh

Capet had given to Count Bouchard. This nobleman kept but a small garrison in the place, under the command of a viscount, named Gautier, who had a pretty and intriguing wife. Eudes feigned a violent passion for this lady; and being a handsome young man, his suit was successful. By her means he bribed the husband to deliver the town into his hands.

Bouchard complained to Robert, and in a few days Melun was retaken, Eudes found means to escape, and Gautier and his wife arrested, and hung on a mountain in sight of the town. This was the only event of importance, with the exception of his excommunication, that occurred during the first fourteen years of Robert's reign. Robert now resolved, with the consent of his ministers, to associate with the throne his eldest son Hugh, now in his eighteenth year. The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Compeigne, in the year 1007. In the fourth year of his association with his father, Hugh secretly withdrew from court; and, being joined by several of the young nobility, erected the standard of revolt. His motive for this act was the pride and severity of his mother, who obstinately refused to establish his household, or to let him have any share in the government to which he had been formally associated.

Fortunately the insurrection was speedily quelled; and Hugh returning to his duty, was pardoned by his father, and admitted to a participation of his throne and authority. But in a short time after this, Hugh was carried off by a fever in the flower of his youth. Robert now associated his next son, Henry, with the dignity which he had imparted to his deceased brother; but the justice of this nomination was opposed with indecent warmth and determined obstinacy by Constance; and her partiality for her younger son, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet neither the secret arts of intrigue, nor the open violence of the offended queen, could subdue the inflexible integrity of her husband. The remainder of this reign, during which the kingdom enjoyed more years of peace and prosperity than it had known for some centuries, was employed by Robert

in the erection of pious edifices, in reforming the manners of the clergy, and in other works of devotion, private and practical. In the year 1031, this virtuous monarch was seized at Melun, with a violent disorder, which terminated his life in the sixty-first year of his age, and forty-fifth of his reign.

At the decease of this pious monarch, the French in heart exclaimed, "We have lost a father, who governed us in peace, beneath whose authority we dwelt in security; who suffered not in others that oppression which he himself disdained; who commanded our affections, and banished our fears."

HENRY THE FIRST.

A. D. 1031.] Though Henry had the choice of his father, and the suffrages of a majority of the nobles to secure and confirm his succession, yet Constance, to whom he was an object of aversion, had neither lost the desire nor the hope of effecting his deposition from that throne to which he had acceded in spite of her machinations.

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Eudes, Count of Champagne, entered into her views; and, being joined by many noblemen of France and Burgundy, supplied her with forces for the execution of her plans.

Dammartin, Senlis, Melun, Sens, Poissy, Coucy, Puiset and several other fortresses declared in her favor, and hoisted the standard of revolt. These were places of great strength in those days, and their importance was considerably increased by their vicinity to the capital, which waited for the event of the contest

before it would come to a decision. Henry, astonished, and incapable of resisting the torrent, left Paris, and escaped with only eleven faithful followers into Normandy; and deserted by his subjects, threw himself on the generous friendship of Robert, duke of that province. That prince received him with all possible honor, supplied him with a powerful army, and sent orders to his uncle, Count Mauger, who commanded Corbeil, to declare war against the insurgents, and lay waste their possessions with fire and sword. Similar orders were likewise issued to all the governors of the frontier towns.

It was a maxim of the duke to show no quarter to rebels; to which severity he was probably indebted for the name he acquired of Robert *the Devil*.

The king fixed his camp before the walls of Corbeil, where he was joined by a great number of his vassals, accompanied by a formidable body of troops. He then proceeded to Poissy, which he retook; he next reduced Puiset, and thrice defeated the Count of Champagne, who escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victor. This vigorous conduct disconcerted the projects of the queen dowager and her partisans, who were compelled to acknowledge that the young monarch had been grossly misrepresented to them. But Constance, ever implacable in her hatred, refused to listen to any proposals for an accommodation. At last finding herself forsaken by her friends and allies, she was reluctantly persuaded to enter into a secret treaty with the king. Fortunately she had no time to excite fresh intrigues, as she died the following year, at Melun, and was interred at Saint Denis, by the side of a husband whose repose she had incessantly disturbed. The submission of the queen was followed by that of Prince Robert. Henry not only pardoned him, but generously assigned him the Duchy of Burgundy, the investiture of which he himself had received from the king his father. Henry had now enjoyed a tranquil reign of twenty-seven years. Finding his constitution visibly impaired, though more from infirmities than from age, he thought it necessary to provide for the safety of the king-

dom by the association of his son Philip, a young prince only in his eighth year, with the throne. With this view he convened a council at Rheims. The king, having reminded the assembly of the services he had rendered the kingdom, requested each one to acknowledge his eldest son Philip for his successor, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. The whole assembly were unanimous in their compliance, and the young prince was immediately crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims. Henry did not long survive the coronation of his son. A portion of medicine, improperly administered, put an end to his existence at Vitrie in Brie, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. He was interred at Saint Denis. He was a warlike prince, of heroic valor and exemplary piety. A friend to virtue, merit was the best recommendation to his esteem; and, being endued with a manly spirit, he knew how to make his authority respected.

He left two sons living at his decease: Philip, who succeeded him to the throne, and Hugh, who afterwards became Count of Vermandois.

PHILIP THE FIRST.

A. D. 1060.] Philip being in the seventh year of his age when his father died, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, a wise prince, highly renowned for his courage and resolution, was appointed regent of the kingdom, with the title of Marquis of France. The event demonstrated the wisdom of the choice. The marquis discharged the duties of his responsible office with punctuality and honor; he took care that his pupil should have a proper education, and governed his kingdom with great prudence.

The first years of the minority of Philip were disturbed by a revolt of the Gascons, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the regent. But the vigor and prudence displayed by Baldwin in reducing the rebels to submission, not only gave new lustre to his reputation, but secured him universal obedience, the more durable as it was founded on esteem.

But, notwithstanding the attention of Baldwin to the interests of the king, and the general welfare of the nation, his administration has not totally escaped censure. He has been accused of neglect, in suffering so dangerous a neighbor as the Duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to achieve the important Conquest of England. It was scarcely possible, however, that Baldwin could foresee the fatal consequences of this event; nor do we think that he could have been justified in exposing the nation to the inevitable dangers of war, by an attempt to prevent the Norman prince from acquiring a new kingdom, which it was natural to suppose would render him less anxious to extend his native dominions.

Be that as it may, the conquest of England at this time was

followed by a series of bloody and destructive contests in France, which always contributed to exhaust, and frequently threatened to subvert the monarchy. From this conquest, the wars and negotiations of the French and English have been so indissolubly blended, as to form one great and complicated system of politics. William having collected his fleet of three thousand vessels, and an army of sixty thousand men, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the first rank in the empire, set sail from the harbor of Saint Valori: and after a fortunate passage, arrived at Pevensey, in Sussex, when the army was disembarked without the smallest opposition. After publishing a manifesto, as false as his claims were frivolous, he advanced to Hastings, where he was met by the English army under the command of Harold and his valiant brothers. The battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, 1066, and, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, William, by an artifice, secured that victory which decided the fate of England.

The death of Harold left this foreign usurper in possession of the field and of the kingdom,—and the sceptre of Britain, which had been swayed by Anglo-Saxons for more than six hundred years, was now transferred to the hand of a Norman.

The power which William acquired by this new conquest afforded just subject of alarm to all the neighboring princes, who repented, when too late, their weakness in not opposing his efforts. King Philip, young as he was, conceived that a crowned vassal was an object of apprehension; and he loudly censured the regent, who had assisted the Duke of Normandy with money and troops. But Baldwin did not long survive this event; his death was a great loss to the kingdom, which he governed with consummate prudence; and a still greater to the youthful monarch, who now became his own master at an age when the understanding is generally weak and the passions are strong. Philip was then but fifteen; and, according to the ancient law of the realm, the king was not of age till he was twenty-one. It does not appear, however, that any other regent was named. The first expedition

of the new monarch was into Flanders, whither respect for the memory of Baldwin induced him to carry his arms.

The tranquillity which prevailed in France afforded leisure to Philip to pursue those pleasures to which he was naturally addicted; unfortunately they were not calculated to amuse, but to enervate the mind.

The queen had by this time lost her powers of pleasing; and the king, though he had several children by her, was resolved to procure a divorce. A distant and doubtful degree of consanguinity afforded the pretence, and the unhappy princess, banished to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart.

The King of France next demanded in marriage, Emma, the daughter of Count Roger, brother to Robert Guiscard, Duke of Sicily. The lady, richly adorned with jewels, and liberally portioned, was escorted to the French court, but, to the disgrace of Philip, does the historian record, Emma was dismissed, and her fortune retained.

While Philip passed his hours in the alternate enjoyments of love and wine, his kingdom was doomed, by her miseries, to atone for the vices of her sovereign.

The barons once more assumed the tone of independence. The scenes of anarchy and confusion from which France had been rescued by the prudence of Hugh Capet and his successors, were again presented in every province, and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was restored by the virtues of the son. From their fortified castles the nobles issued forth like a band of plunderers, and committed the most daring depredations on the public roads, laying all passengers, without discrimination of age, sex or station, under a cruel contribution. It was no longer possible to travel, but in caravans; and even the king himself did not dare to pass from Paris to Etampes without a strong guard. The capital was in a manner blockaded by seven or eight small towns, the lords of which kept regular bodies of troops that scoured the surrounding country; and these tyrants became more formidable from their

union, which was closely cemented by the ties of blood, and the more powerful bonds of interest. Philip deemed it necessary to make every exertion for repressing disorders which threatened the kingdom with destruction.

With a small, but well-disciplined force, he continually kept the field, and overawed the nobles who had disdained his authority. He razed their castles, redressed the injuries of those they had wronged, and compelled them to relinquish the lands which they had taken from the church. The banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately attested his indefatigable zeal; and the presumption of a haughty nobility was repressed and chastised by a cautious, yet enterprising prince.

The Crusades, or expeditions formed for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels, was commenced about this time; an event that seemed to rouse Europe from the lethargy in which it had long been sunk, and which tended to introduce a change both in government and manners.

During these transactions in the east, Philip was busily employed in extending his dominions.

Profiting by the superstitious rage of the times, he united several large fiefs to the crown, and, among others, the county or lordship of Bourges, which Herpin sold to him for the purpose of procuring money to defray his expenses to the Holy Land.

Philip died at Melun, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. He was buried, by his own desire, at the abbey of Saint Benedict, upon the Loire. Though Philip was generally despised by his subjects, and not without reason, yet he possessed many good qualities, and excellent endowments.

He was intrepid in the field, and, when he applied to business, not unskillful in the cabinet. His generosity was extensive; his compassion strong; and the courteous affability of his demeanor coinciding with the extraordinary graces of his person, all those who had access to him were apt to forget, in the manners of the man, the vices of the monarch. Philip was twice mar-

ried : by his first wife Bertha, whom he basely repudiated, he had Louis the Sixth, who succeeded him. And by his second wife Bertrade, of the illustrious house of Montfort, he had one son and two daughters.

LOUIS THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1108.] The ceremony of the coronation of Louis was performed at Orleans, by Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, on account of a schism which prevailed in the church of Rheims, where the princes of the Capetian race (except Robert) had hitherto been crowned.

Rodolph had been elected by the clergy of Rheims, and had taken possession of the archiepiscopal dignity, without waiting for the consent of Philip, who, in order to punish him for his presumption, had nominated another prelate named Gervase. Louis refused to be anointed by the first, because, in conformity to the decrees of the Popes, and of the council of Clermont, he refused to do homage to the king ; nor would he suffer the last to perform that ceremony, because his authority was not universally acknowledged. When Louis had settled this important affair, he turned his thoughts towards the correction of those internal abuses which sprang from the turbulent disposition of the numerous and powerful vassals of the crown. The royal authority, indeed, was chiefly confined to Paris, Compeigne, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, Bourges and some other places of little consequence ; and many of the nobles were able to bring a more formidable army into the field than the king himself, to whom they paid a

vain and sterile homage, while they exercised a despotic sway within their own territories, and assumed almost every mark of sovereignty.

But the skill and courage of Louis were successfully exerted in repressing the inroads and curtailing the power of these dangerous subjects. He reduced numbers of them to submission, destroying their castles, and confiscating their possessions. But the attention of Louis was soon called to oppose the increasing power of a more formidable enemy. This was Henry the First, King of England, who had usurped the Duchy of Normandy, to the prejudice of his brother Robert, and compelled the Duke of Brittany to pay him homage.

The French perceived, now it was too late, the fault they had committed in not opposing the conquests of William the First; and they accordingly took up arms to suppress the dangerous encroachments of a power that threatened to destroy their own. From this period to the reign of Charles the Seventh, there was a continual succession of war and peace between France and England. During that time more than one hundred and twenty treaties were concluded, which were all broken almost as soon as they were signed.

About this time Louis married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert, Count of Savoy. The amiable qualities of this princess endeared her to the nobility, and her good sense and discretion contributed to smooth the rugged path which Louis throughout his reign was destined to tread. The relative situation of the French and English monarchs, and the contrariety of their interests, were such, at this period, as to render the preservation of tranquillity between them a matter of extreme difficulty. The turbulence of their vassals afforded frequent opportunities for the open display of that enmity with which they were mutually impressed.

When a French nobleman had any subject for discontent he applied for support to Henry; and if a Norman wished to encourage sedition, in Louis he was sure to find a ready protector.

In this state of mind, the French monarch listened with pleasure to the supplicating voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to rouse the compassion of other monarchs, now sought shelter and support in the court of France. This prince was William, the son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and grandson of William the First, whose filial piety implored the humanity of Louis to procure the liberty of his father, a prisoner to his brother Henry. The King of France did not long hesitate to comply with a request, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and interest. He advised William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cause the Counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negotiation of the young prince was successful, but when the treaty was about to be signed by the heads of the confederacy, the Count of Anjou refused to confirm his engagement, unless the king would re-establish him in the office of grand-seneschal of France, which had been hereditary in his family from the reign of Lothaire. Preliminaries being now settled, the armies entered Normandy in three different points. Louis then sent to demand of the King of England the liberty of Robert; and on the refusal being given, war was declared. Their first march was to Rouen, where Louis sent Henry a challenge to meet him in the field, but this being declined, and the town too strong to be taken, they burned the suburbs, and then retired. Louis, finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by arms, had recourse to the spiritual power, and prevailed on Pope Calixtus the Second to effect an accommodation between the two monarchs. This was successfully accomplished by the pontiff; and Henry, having restored tranquillity to his continental dominions, embarked at Barfleur on his return to England. One of the finest vessels in his fleet, called the White Ship, was allotted to his son, Prince William, and his numerous retinue; who, being detained by some accident, ordered three casks of wine to be distributed to the ship's crew, by which means many of them became intoxicated; and the captain himself so far exceeded the bounds of

temperance, that the vessel struck on a sunken rock, called the *Catte-razze*, with such violence that she started her planks, and was upset. The boat was hoisted out, and the prince, with some of the nobility, entered it; others, actuated by a natural impulse of self-preservation, leaped into it, so that it instantly sunk, and all on board perished.

On this occasion, besides the prince and his natural brother Richard, there were lost eighteen ladies of the highest rank, one hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy, with all their attendants, and fifty sailors.

After this tragical event, Henry was determined to return to Normandy, in order to suppress a revolt which had taken place in that province. In the spring of the following year, the English monarch had the good fortune to take the leaders of the conspiracy by surprise, and to secure their persons. Discouraged by this unlucky accident, all the other barons who had joined in the revolt, hastened to return to their allegiance, and to make peace with him on the best terms they could procure. Still, however, the King of France continued to make the most formidable preparations for war, and troops were collecting on every side. It is necessary to remark, on this occasion, the difference which subsisted, in the times we are now delineating, between the forces of the kingdom and those of the king. When the sovereign went to war for the promotion of his own private interest, he had no more troops than what he could collect on the immediate domains of the crown; but, when the general welfare of the nation was at stake, all domestic dissensions instantly ceased. Every man flew to arms, and every vassal marched with a certain number of troops, proportioned to the extent and dignity of his fief. Thus the whole empire was in arms to meet the usurper of England, who, alarmed at the immensity of these preparations, repassed the Moselle and the Rhine with the utmost precipitation. This gave Louis an opportunity to arrange terms of accommodation. These were ac-

cepted, and peace between the two kingdoms was once more restored. Louis, finding now his health failing, followed the example of his predecessors, in the association of his son Philip with the throne.

That prince did not long survive his elevation to the regal dignity. A fall from his horse proved fatal to the young prince, and the favorable expectations of a future reign, which had been raised by his early virtues, were blasted by his premature death. The loss of Philip was followed by the coronation of his brother Louis, who, at the age of twelve years, received the crown from the hands of Pope Innocent the Second.

Louis died at Paris, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age. Of Louis the Sixth it had been said, "He might have made a better king; he could not have been a better man."

That he entertained a just sense of the nature and importance of the royal dignity, is evident from his last admonition to his son, and successor: "*Remember, my son,*" said the expiring monarch, "*that royalty is a public trust, for the exercise of which a rigorous account will be exacted from you, by him who has the sole disposal of crowns and sceptres.*"

LOUIS THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1137.] Louis, who was in Guinne at the death of his father, hastened to Paris, and convened an assembly of the prelates and nobles, for repressing that spirit of sedition which so frequently manifests itself at the commencement of a reign.

The kingdom, indeed, had not enjoyed so perfect a calm as it now experienced for some time. This was principally owing to the fatal divisions which prevailed in Germany and England.

These cruel disorders, which prevailed in the neighboring states, were favorable to the tranquillity of France, which was, at this time, agitated only by theological disputes, that were not carried to a sufficient height to disturb the national repose.

These agitations were caused by Abelard, a monk, who was promulgating among his pupils and others Trinitarian sentiments that were not at this time received. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne, accused him of following the example of Arius, in making distinctions between the three persons of the Trinity; of imitating Pelagius, in preferring free will to grace; and of agreeing with the Nestorians, in dividing the person of Christ. A council was accordingly assembled at Sens, for the purpose of taking these charges into consideration, at which the king and the Count of Champagne were both present. The Abbot of Clairvaux opened the business of the day, and displayed a fund of eloquence that seduced his audience. By the applause which he received from the assembly, Abelard was convinced that his condemnation would be pronounced. The embarrassment occasioned by this idea almost deprived him of the use of his faculties; it did not, however, prevent him

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from thinking of his personal safety, by making an appeal to the Pope. The council, therefore, though they proceeded to condemn his doctrine, were prevented from inflicting any punishment on him.

Abelard set out for Rome, in order to pursue his appeal, and to justify himself to the sovereign pontiff; but the Abbot of Cluni prevented him from proceeding, and undertook to reconcile him to Bernard.

Then the face of affairs totally changed, and the doctrine of Abelard was no longer called in question. He died two years after this reconciliation, overwhelmed with infirmities. He was doubtless the brightest genius of the times in which he lived. His misfortunes were owing to an excess of sensibility, and to the splendor of his reputation. His wife Heloise survived him nearly twenty years, and, at her death, was interred in the same tomb with her husband, at the abbey of Paraclete which she had founded.

At this time the distress of the Christian warriors in Palestine called for immediate assistance from Europe; and Bernard, who had been employed to preach a second crusade, and whose fervent eloquence had aroused the fanatical zeal of the Germans and Flemings, was earnest in his exhortations to Louis to join them. Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, on the contrary, exerted his utmost efforts to dissuade the king from an enterprise from which there was everything to fear and nothing to hope; and which he might effectually assist by a contribution of men and money, while his presence was requisite at home to secure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. Louis, however, after what he termed mature deliberation, assumed the cross, and repaired to Palestine. A parliament was now assembled at Vezelai, in Burgundy, to listen to the eloquence of Bernard, who depicted in glowing colors the meritorious piety and the internal rewards which attended the holy warfare.

The king received from his hands a cross, which the pope had sent him from Rome; and his example was followed by the queen and a numerous train of nobles, prelates and others.

Louis placed the reins of government in the hands of Rodolph, Count of Vermandois, and of Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, and at the head of two hundred thousand men, traversed the plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Constantinople. At Nice Louis met Conrad, Emperor of Germany, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious but unfortunate combat, in the defiles of Mount Taurus, into which he had been betrayed by the perfidy of Manuel, and seeking for some vessels to carry him to Palestine by sea. The King of France, however, unwarned by his misfortunes, pressed forward to the banks of the Mander, which he passed in sight of the Turks, whom he afterwards attacked in their camp, and defeated with great slaughter. The king was retiring from this attack with precipitation, when his golden spurs attracted the notice of a band of Saracens, who resolved to seize the glittering prize. They accordingly pursued Louis, who, unable to effect his escape, placed his back against a large tree, where he defended himself with such vigor against his numerous assailants, that he soon had an opportunity of climbing to the top. The Saracens plied him with their arrows, but were unable to penetrate his armor; they next attempted to ascend the tree, but the king used his sabre with such skill and success, that, intimidated by the opposition they experienced, they at length left him in search of other plunder that could be acquired with greater facility.

He then left his post; and, mounting a stray horse, was lucky enough to find the defiles of the mountain, and to attain the camp of his vanguard. On the recovery of their sovereign, whom they imagined to be killed or taken, a general rejoicing ensued.

From Antioch, Louis set sail for Jerusalem, where he was joined by the Emperor Conrad. Reinforced by troops, they determined to form the siege of Damascus; but that city, strong both by art and nature, resisted their efforts, and they were compelled to relinquish their attempts with a loss of nearly one-half their army. Having, however, given proofs of their sincerity, piety and

courage, they embarked at a port in Syria to their respective dominions.

The French, in the meantime, bewailed with bitter lamentations the misguided zeal of their monarch, and the fatal effects of an expedition that had drained the kingdom of its wealth and greatly diminished the number of its inhabitants.

Louis, finding his health declined from the continual agitations and revolts he had experienced during his reign, resolved to hasten the coronation of his son; he was disabled, however, from attending the ceremony, by a sudden stroke of apoplexy, which announced his speedy dissolution. Philip, nevertheless, was crowned in the presence of Henry, son to the English monarch, who, as Duke of Normandy, bore the royal diadem; of the Count of Flanders, who carried the sword of state; and other great vassals and officers of the crown. The coronation of Philip was succeeded by his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Baldwin, Count of Hainault. This alliance of the blood of Charlemagne with the blood of Hugh Capet, gave the French inexpressible pleasure. They still revered the memory of the Carlovingian princes, whom they distinguished by the appellation of *The Great Kings*. Louis died at Paris, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the abbey of Barbeau.

PHILIP THE SECOND.

A. D. 1181.] From his birth, which established the peaceable succession to the crown of France, Philip attained the expressive surname of *The gift of God*. As he advanced in life, his vanity was gratified by the appellation conferred on him by his courtiers, of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and, after his death, the surname of *Augustus* was added to his other titles. The management of affairs was entrusted to Robert Clement, of Mentz, to whom the education of Philip had been confided by the late king. He is spoken of, by historians, as a man of strict integrity, and possessed of every quality that could fit him for a situation so arduous and delicate. Great hopes were consequently formed of his administration; but these were speedily destroyed by his sudden death. He was succeeded in his office and dignities by his brother Gilles Clement; but he too, died in a few months after his elevation, and made way for the Cardinal of Champagne, brother to the queen dowager, who was appointed to the presidency of the council, and to the post of prime minister.

Philip now employed himself in the internal regulation of his dominions, and in repressing the formidable enterprises of the Duke of Burgundy.

At this time the joy of the kingdom was considerably heightened by the birth of a prince. The hopes of seeing the blood of Charlemagne once more established on the throne of France, inspired the people with the most enthusiastic pleasure. The Bishop of Tournay performed the ceremony of baptism, and gave to the royal infant the name of Louis. Philip found, in the birth of an heir, a new cause for esteeming a princess, who had

the best title to his affections.—But the rejoicings occasioned by this happy event were suddenly interrupted by the reception of some dismal intelligence from the Christians in Palestine.

After the departure of Louis the Seventh from the Holy Land, the crusaders experienced a succession of disasters that reduced them to the last extremity.

But the frequent repetition of calamities, which had nearly depopulated the western world, and exhausted its treasures, were yet insufficient to check the folly of these spiritual knights-errant.

Philip without loss of time convened an assembly at Paris, at which several ordinances were enacted, as well for the purpose of providing for the expenses of the war, as for preventing those disorders which had occasioned the failure of the crusade.

Everything was ready for the expedition to Palestine, when the flames of war again burst forth in Europe, and induced the rival monarchs of France and England to turn those arms against each other which had been destined to oppose their mutual enemy.

Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private conference with young Richard, son of Henry the Second of England, who was at this time Duke of Normandy; and working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present power and independence by disturbing and dismembering it. In order to afford a pretext for hostilities between the two kings, Richard invaded the territories of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who immediately complained of this violence to the King of France, as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry, but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the Archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprise against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. Philip, who ought to have been ashamed of such duplicity, by this detection of his perfidy, still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berry and

Auvergne, under color of revenging the quarrel of the Count of Toulouse.

Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a conference between Trie and Gisors, in order to find means of accommodating their differences. But this interview only served to increase their enmity; and Philip, to show his disgust, ordered a large tree, under which the conferences had been usually held, to be cut down; as if he had renounced all desire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities against the King of England.

But his own vassals refused to serve under him in so vile a cause; and he was obliged to have a second conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as completely opened the eyes of the King of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and of his secret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained some suspicion.

The King of France required that Richard should be crowned King of England in the lifetime of his father, should be invested with all his continental dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister. Henry had experienced such fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he indignantly rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him, did homage to the King of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures, as if he had already been the lawful possessor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confusion, the conference broke up. Cardinal Albano, who had been sent by the pope to effect a peace between the two monarchs, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obstacle to the treaty; and this prelate dying, the sovereign pontiff, who was anxious to accelerate the expedition

to Palestine, invested the Cardinal Anagni with the legatine power, and gave him instructions to promote a reconciliation; but the unprincipled obstinacy of Richard rendered all conciliatory endeavors ineffectual. Philip also despised the menaces, and insisted on the non-interference of the legate; while Richard would have committed violence on him, only for the interposition of the company. The war was now renewed with additional vigor, and, after several successive defeats, Henry was subdued, and submitted to all the rigorous terms so shamefully imposed on him.

But the mortification which the King of England experienced, from being obliged to submit to such humiliating conditions, soon put a period to his existence; he died at the castle of Chinon, lamented by his subjects. On the accession of Richard to the English throne, Philip sought an interview with him at Nonancourt, in which the final arrangements for their voyage to Palestine were adopted. They swore an eternal friendship to each other, promised mutual assistance, and agreed that if one of them should die on the voyage, the other should become master of his troops and treasures, to be employed for the relief of the Holy Land. After these precautions they fixed the general rendezvous in the plains of Vezelai, in Burgundy, where they arrived towards the end of June. The arrival at Ptolemais of Philip and Richard inspired the Christians with new life. Acting in concert, and partaking the glory and danger of every action, they gave strong hopes of obtaining a final victory over the infidels. The plan of operations which they agreed on was this; that one day the King of France should attack the town, and the English guard the trenches; and the next, the English monarch should conduct the assault, and the French undertake to defend the assailants.

The Saracens reluctantly surrendered after a siege of two days, and were compelled to submit to the following conditions. That the garrison should be allowed to depart, leaving all their baggage behind them; that Saladin, their emperor, should restore the true cross, with two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners of the greatest note; that he should cause to be paid to the two victorious

monarchs two hundred thousand pieces of gold, called *Bysantines*, for the ransom of the garrison, the whole of which were to be detained as hostages till these conditions were performed. Thus ended this celebrated siege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia for two years, and had cost the lives of three hundred thousand men, besides those of six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons.

Philip felt his health rapidly declining. He was repairing from Normandy to his capital, when he was arrested by death, at the town of Mante, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the royal vault at Saint Denis.

The eulogy pronounced by historians on the character of Philip, is comprehended in a few words, "that though his mind was capacious and enterprising, his defects were many, and his virtues few."

LOUIS THE EIGHTH.

SURNAMED THE LION.

A. D. 1223.] The accession of Louis the Eighth, who was now in his thirty-sixth year, experienced no kind of opposition. Though his father had neglected to associate him with the throne, he had left him in possession of an army that was better calculated to establish his authority than the celebration of a vain ceremony. The new monarch was crowned at Rheims by William de Joinville, archbishop of that diocese, and the most

unequivocal proofs of joy and satisfaction were exhibited on the occasion, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. He was no sooner seated on the throne than Henry the Third of England demanded by a solemn embassy, the restoration of Normandy, and of the other provinces which had been wrested from his father; but Louis replied, that those territories had been formally confiscated by a sentence of the peers, the validity of which he was prepared to defend; and, as the truce of four years was on the point of expiring, he determined on renewing the war by an irruption in Poitou. The Pope apprised of his intentions, sought to divert him from his purpose; but the king neglected his remonstrances, and, being sensible of his own power, resolved to exert it. Accordingly, shortly afterwards he entered Poitou with a powerful army, and having subdued all the places which the English possessed in Poitou, and received the homage of their inhabitants, he returned in triumph to Paris.

Louis next marched against Avignon, but the inhabitants set his threats at defiance, repelled his attacks with the most determined valor, and compelled him, after the loss of the bravest of his troops, to grant those terms of capitulation which he had at first refused. After the reduction of Avignon, the king entered Languedoc, and extended his devastations within four leagues of Toulouse; but, the season being too far advanced to form the siege of that important place, which Raymond had been careful to provide with every means of resistance, he resolved to return to Paris. On his journey, he was seized at Montpenser, with a disorder that put an end to his life, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. He was interred at Saint Denis. Of eleven children which Louis had by his wife Blanche of Castile, six only survived him: Louis, Robert, John, Alfonso, Charles and Isabella. By his will Louis bequeathed all his dominions to his eldest son Louis, except those *appanages* which he intended for his brothers.

Louis the Eighth possessed the courage, vigilance and activity, but not the prudence of his father.

LOUIS THE NINTH.

COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LOUIS.

A. D. 1226.] Louis on his death-bed appointed his Queen Blanche regent of the kingdom and guardian of the young prince, who was crowned at Rheims. The archiepiscopal see, and all the nobles and prelates present, took the accustomed oath of allegiance to Louis as their sovereign, and to Blanche, as the regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her son. The regent herself is said to have been a woman of extraordinary accomplishments, both mental and personal; of a spirit undaunted, of beauty unrivaled. Determined to chastise the Count of Brittany, who had already commenced hostilities, Louis marched into his territories, at the head of a powerful army; and though his vanguard was attacked and defeated by the count, he advanced into the interior parts of the country, and committed the most dreadful devastations. His turbulent vassal, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, demanded a truce till November, when he engaged, if the King of England did not in the interim come in person to assist him, to surrender Brittany into the hands of the king. This proposal, accompanied by a considerable sum of money, was accepted; and Henry, not having appeared within the appointed time, the count, at the expiration of the truce, fulfilled his engagement.

The submission of the Count of Brittany, and the vigorous conduct which had produced it, kept the other great vassals of the crown in awe.

The king having now attained his one-and-twentieth year,

took the reins of government into his own hands; but though Blanche ceased to bear the title of regent, she still maintained her former ascendancy; and by her acute penetration and prudent councils, greatly assisted her son in supporting with dignity and ease the burdens of royalty.

Louis had now begun to form plans for another crusade to the Holy Land; accordingly, he collected his numerous counts and vassals, and with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, they embarked at the port of Aigues Mortes, in a fleet of one hundred vessels. With favorable winds they reached the coast of Cyprus, on whose friendly shores the troops were disembarked; and during the severity of the winter, their strength was recruited, and their health restored by the plenty of that island. Early in the spring, the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the Nile, and after a vigorous resistance, the Saracens were at last compelled to relinquish the field to the daring warriors of France.

After one or two successful battles, Louis returned to his native land, where he found some confusion caused by a visit from the King of England, and which had caused some discontent among his nobles. This, however, was soon quelled, and the kingdom restored to tranquillity.

The high reputation which Louis now deservedly bore for justice and integrity, produced an appeal from Henry the Third of England, and his discontented barons, who, by mutual consent, chose him as a mediator between them.

This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumstances, could safely have been entrusted with such an authority by a neighboring nation, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions. He had exerted his utmost endeavors to accommodate the differences between Henry and the factious Earl of Leicester; but found that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester, were so violent as to render all his efforts ineffectual. The propositions for adjustment were indignantly rejected by Leicester, who was deter-

mined to have recourse to arms, and a most decisive battle was fought at Evesham, on the fourth of August, 1265, when the royalists proved victorious: Leicester himself, with his eldest son, Hugh le Despenser, and about one hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party, were slain in the action. On the return of Louis to his dominions he found his nobles and vassals had been incited by the pope to another crusade against the Saracens who had been again awfully oppressing the Christians.

Accordingly, this prince of fanatics made the necessary preparations, and sailed for Tunis, on the coast of Africa, in order to convert Omar, the King of Tunis, to Christianity. There he had to encounter an active and formidable foe. The town of Carthage, however, was soon in their possession, and Louis resolved to wait there till the arrival of his brother before he attacked the city of Tunis, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a brave and numerous garrison. But the excessive heat of the climate brought on a pestilential disorder, which destroyed one-half of the army. The king himself at length caught the infection, and, after giving the most salutary advice to his vassals, resigned his breath on the twenty-fifth of August, in the sixty-sixth year of his age and the forty-fourth of his reign. This monarch united to the mean and abject superstition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greatest hero, the justice and integrity of a disinterested patriot, and the mildness and humanity of a philosopher.

The few errors into which he fell, arose principally from an excess of religious zeal; and they were so greatly exceeded by his numerous virtues, that it would be invidious to dwell on them.

Philip, the eldest son of Louis the Ninth, succeeded his father to the throne.

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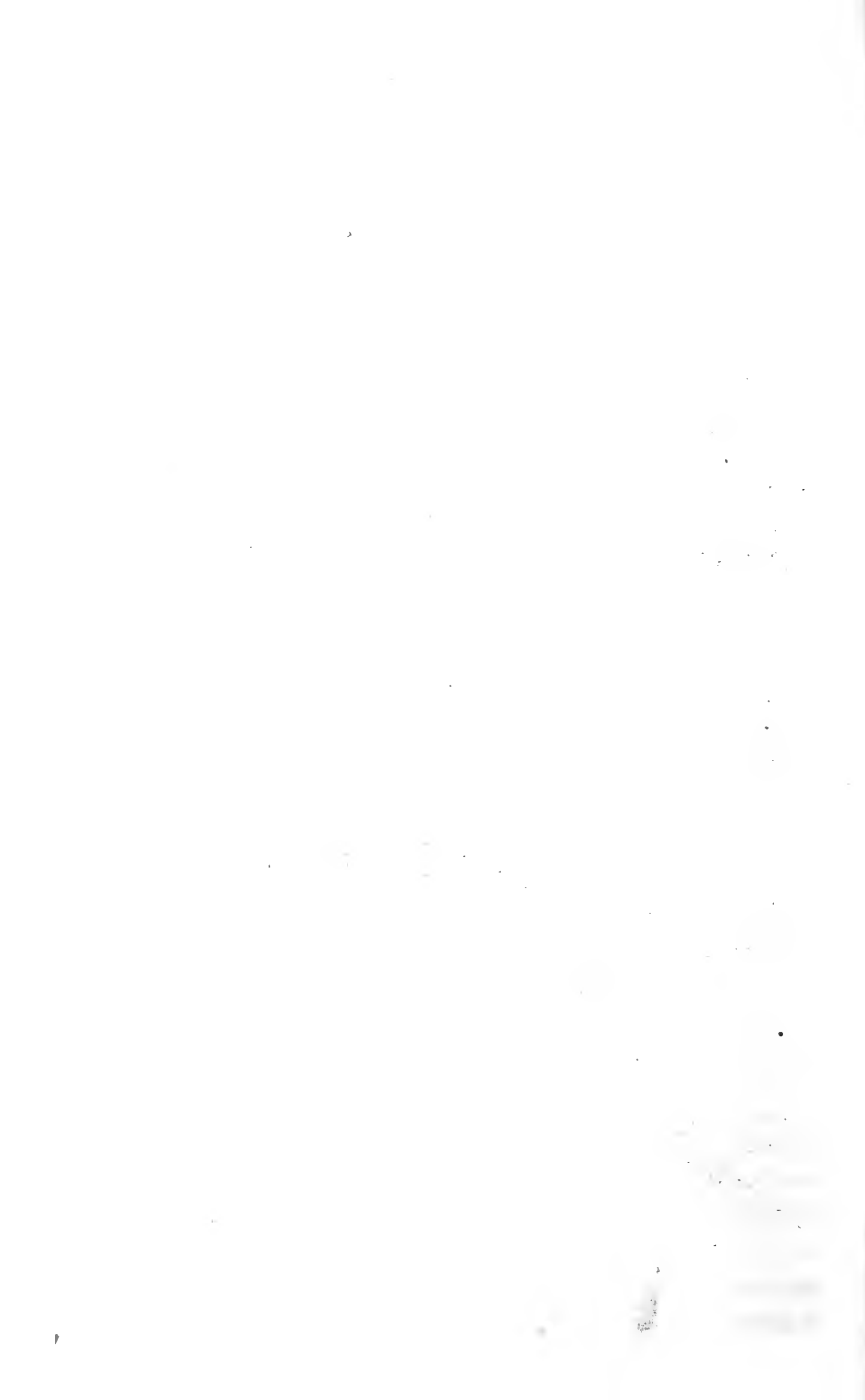


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PHILIP THE THIRD.

SURNAMED THE HARDY.

A. D. 1270.] The pestilential disease, which had destroyed the king, continued to rage with such unabated violence, that Philip judged it prudent to return to his dominions with as little delay as possible. The King of Tunis having made propositions to Philip, he was induced to consent to the following conditions. "That the port of Tunis should be open for the reception of merchandize, without duty: that all Christians now imprisoned should be liberated, and the free exercise of their religion should be allowed them; that the King of Tunis should bind himself by oath, to pay the accustomed tribute to the Sicilian monarch; and that he should defray all the expenses of the war, which amounted to two hundred and ten thousand ounces of gold; one-half of which was to be paid immediately, the remainder in two years." Hostilities ceased, and Philip returned to Paris to prepare for his coronation, which was performed at Rheims, by Milo, Bishop of Soissons.

Matters being now arranged, Philip made a tour through his new dominions, and took necessary measures for quelling the only revolt that occurred during his reign. Geraud the Fifth, Count of Armagnac, laid claim to the sovereignty of the Castle Sompuy, in the diocese of Auch; while Geraud de Casaubon, lord of the fief, maintained that he held it immediately of the king, as heir to the rights of the counts of Toulouse. The dispute grew warm between them; and after several challenges on both sides, they prepared to decide it by sword. Casaubon was unable to resist

the united forces of the powerful family of his antagonist, which was put under the protection of Philip, who cited the two offenders to appear before him, in order to answer for their conduct. Gerard d'Armagnac obeyed the citation, sued for mercy, and obtained it on condition of paying a fine of fifteen thousand livres Tournois. But de Casaubon despised the order of his sovereign, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He depended on the advantageous situation of his little territory, which was surrounded by lofty mountains and defended by a great number of castles, strongly fortified both by nature and art. Hostilities then commenced, and Philip, at the head of his army, reached the castle of Foix in which the count himself had taken refuge. The difficulty of approaching this fortress compelled them to keep at a certain distance; but Philip having taken an oath not to quit the place till he had obtained possession of it, either by force or capitulation, the workmen were ordered to cut a way through the rocks which surrounded the castle. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, they displayed so much ardor in proceeding with their task, that the count saw he must be obliged to yield; he therefore sought to avert the resentment of Philip, by a timely surrender; and repairing to the royal tent, threw himself at the king's feet, and sued for pardon. But he had proceeded too far to be so soon forgiven; the king confined him in a tower, in the city of Carcossonne, and seized all his territories, except a small part which was claimed by the King of Arragon, but which that monarch afterwards ceded, in order to accelerate the release of the captive count.

The count, after a year's imprisonment, was indebted for his liberty to the generosity of his sovereign; he then repaired to Paris, expressed his contrition for his past conduct, and was received into favor by Philip. At the age of twelve years, Louis, the king's eldest son, suddenly expired; and a report was industriously circulated that his death was occasioned by poison. La Brosse, who had an antipathy to the queen, seized on this circumstance, to instil into the mind of Philip suspicions unfavora-

ble to his virtuous consort. He artfully insinuated that the queen had committed this crime; that she had formed a plan for getting rid of the two surviving princes, the sons of the first wife of Philip, in order to pave the way for the accession of her own children (should she have any) to the crown of France.

Mezeray affirms, that he even paid a traitor, who publicly accused Mary of administering the poison to the presumptive heir of the throne. The queen, in consequence of this accusation, was actually in fear of being burnt alive; but her brother, the Duke of Brabant, sent a knight to justify her innocence by an appeal to the sword; and the accuser, not daring to support his charge by a judicial combat, was declared guilty of calumny, and expiated his crime by an ignominious death.

The king, however, was greatly embarrassed. The report that prevailed, though wholly devoid of foundation; the artful insinuations of his favorite; the interest of Mary in the death of his sons by Isabella of Arragon; all contributed to favor those ideas which La Brosse had been studious to excite. In order to clear up his doubts he resolved, agreeably to the superstition of the age, to consult a nun, a *Beguine of Neville*, who believed herself inspired. He immediately dispatched *Arnaud de Visemale*, a knight-templar, to *Neville*. He was favorably received by the nun, and brought back a clear and unequivocal answer:—"Tell the king (said the prophetess), that he ought not to give credit to those who speak ill of his illustrious consort; she is innocent of the crime imputed to her; he may safely rely on her fidelity as well to himself as to his children."

The king was now satisfied of the villany intended to be practised on him, and La Brosse was hanged at Paris, in the presence of the nobles of that city. Philip, on returning from Gironne, after a victory over the Spaniards, was seized at Perpignan with the dysentery, which caused his death in the forty-first year of his age and sixteenth of his reign. Philip was twice married; by his first wife, Isabella of Arragon, he had Louis, supposed to be poisoned, Philip surnamed the Fair, who succeeded him on the

throne; Charles, Count of Valois, and Robert, who died in his infancy. By his second wife, Mary of Brabant, he had Louis, Count of Evreux; and two daughters. The domains of the crown were augmented, during this reign, by the acquisition of the county of Toulouse, the port of Barfleur, estates in the Pays de Caux, the barony of Montmorillon, and the forest of Chavigni.

PHILIP THE FOURTH.

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1285.] The gracefulness of his person and the beauty of his face had acquired Philip the Fourth the appellation of *the Fair*, who, but in his seventeenth year, with a spirit superior to his ability, undertook to accomplish all the schemes of his father and predecessor: to seat his brother Charles of Valois on the throne of Arragon; to assert the claims of the infants De la Cerda to that of Castile; and to constrain the rebels of Sicily to renew their submission to the house of Anjou.

Before he entered on the execution of his plans, he repaired to Rheims, where he was crowned.

A very short time sufficed to convince the young and aspiring monarch that the schemes he had undertaken were far beyond his power, and to show him the folly of his visionary projects. After many vain attempts on the territories of the King of Arragon, he was compelled to accept of an accommodation. By abandoning the interests of the infants De la Cerda, he adjusted

the disputes with Castile ; and the terms of peace between Alfonso, who had succeeded his father Pedro to the throne of Arragon, and Philip, were settled by the mediation of Edward the First of England. But the tranquillity established by this accommodation was speedily interrupted by a dispute with England ; a dispute more serious in its nature, and more dangerous in its consequences :—A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne, and both of them having occasion for water, they sent their boats to land, and the several crews came at the same time to the spring ; a quarrel ensued, when a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman, who, grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground ; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was slain.

This scuffle between two seamen about water, soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in a quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king ; and Philip, without inquiry into the fact, without demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. They shortly after seized an English vessel in the Channel ; and hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew, in presence of their companions, dismissed the vessel, and bade the mariners inform their countrymen that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman, killed at Bayonne. This affair now began to wear a formidable aspect ; and Philip sent an envoy to demand reparation and restitution. The king dispatched the Bishop of London to the French court in order to accommodate the quarrel.

In order, however, to avoid a final rupture between the two nations, Edward dispatched his brother Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, to Paris ; and, as this prince had married the Queen of Navarre, mother of Jane, consort of Philip, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accommodate the difference.

This, however, was not easily accomplished, and the two mo-

narchs now prepared for war, each seeking to strengthen himself by forming alliances with the neighboring powers. Pope Boniface, however, after some difficulty, brought the kings to a final peace, and in order to cement the friendship of the two nations yet stronger, he proposed a double marriage, that of Edward himself, who was a widower, to Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the Prince of Wales to Isabella, daughter of Philip. This was agreed to and a final tranquillity ensued. Many years of the reign of Philip passed without much interest, with the exception of frequent revolts which were soon quelled. On his death-bed Philip cast a retrospective eye on the various transactions of his reign; and at that moment, when the voice of adulation had lost its wonted power, he found his own gratifications had ever been consulted in preference to the welfare of his people.

Philip had by his queen, Jane of Navarre, four sons: Louis, Philip, and Charles, who successively attained to the royal dignity, and Robert, who died young. To Louis, his eldest son and successor, he gave the most salutary advice. He strictly enjoined him to relieve his subjects from any oppression they might be laboring under. He expired at Fontainebleau in the thirtieth year of his reign and forty-sixth of his age, and was interred at Saint Denis.

LOUIS THE TENTH.

A. D. 1314.] On the accession of Louis to the throne of his ancestors, all Europe was convulsed with intestine commotions. Edward the Second of England, a weak but well-disposed prince, was harassed by his factious and turbulent barons, for entrusting to others the weighty cares of government which he was unable to bear himself. Germany, by the death of the Emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, was equally convulsed by two contending factions. Rome was exposed to the same disorders, and from a similar cause. The Castilians were engaged in a war with the Moors, whom, though they often defeated, they could never reduce.

* Such was the situation of the neighboring powers when Louis ascended the throne; nor was his own kingdom in a greater state of tranquillity. Most of the provinces had either actually revolted, or were ready to revolt; in that of Sens, a revolt had already taken place.

Notwithstanding the immense sums which had been levied during the late reign, on the king's decease the treasury was so far exhausted that there was not sufficient money to defray the expense of a coronation. "Where then," said Louis, one day in full council, "are the tenths which were levied on the clergy? What has become of the numerous subsidies exacted from the people? Where are the riches that must have been derived from the debasement of the coin?" "Sire," said the Count of Valois, "Marigny was entrusted with all this money; it is his place to give an account of it." Marigny protested that he was ready to do so whenever he should receive the king's orders for

that purpose. "Let it be done then, immediately," exclaimed the count. "With all my heart," replied the minister; "I gave you, sir, a great part of it; the rest was employed in defraying the expenses of the state, and in carrying on the war against the Flemings." "You lie!" said Charles, in a rage.—"It is yourself who is the liar, sir," returned the minister, with more spirit than prudence. The count immediately drew his sword; Marigny put himself in a posture of defence, and the consequences must have been serious but for the interference of the council, who hastened to separate them. Some days after this incident, Marigny, relying too much on his own innocence, attended the council as usual; but he was arrested as he entered the king's apartment, and conveyed to the prison of the Louvre, of which he was governor; from thence, at the intercession of the Count of Valois, he was transferred to the temple, and thrown into a dungeon. Ralph de Preles, a celebrated advocate, the intimate friend of Marigny, was also arrested, through fear that he might furnish the minister with such means of defence as might baffle all the efforts of his adversaries.

Some pretext, however, was necessary to cover the iniquity of this proceeding; Ralph was therefore accused of having conspired against the life of the late king; and, by an instance of unparalleled injustice, his effects were immediately confiscated, and were not restored even after his innocence had been established. The king, indeed, on his death-bed, felt a remorse of conscience, and did all that he could to repair this injury. In his last will he ordered all the lands and effects belonging to Ralph de Preles to be restored, whether they were in possession of the crown or of individuals.

Louis caused an assembly to be convened in the woods, at which he presided in person, in order to hear the charges preferred against him by his uncle, Charles, Count of Valois. The accusations were numerous; but the most serious were these: That he had debased the coin; burdened the people with taxes; artfully persuaded the late king to make him presents to a large

amount; stole considerable sums that had been destined for the use of Edmond de Goth, a relation of the Pope; issued various orders unauthorized by his sovereign; and maintained a traitorous correspondence with the Flemings. Such of these charges as were founded on facts had been acts of the king, and not of the minister. The rest were wholly unsupported by proof; nor, indeed, did the Count of Valois bring any proof. So little regard did he pay even to the forms of justice, that he refused to hear what the party accused had to urge in his own defence. Charles had proceeded too far to retract, and his influence over the mind of his nephew was such; that he persuaded him to let the matter rest for some days, when he did not doubt of being able to convince him more fully of his minister's guilt. He then proceeded to suborn some witnesses, who deposed that Alips de Mons, wife to Marigny, and the lady of Canteleu, his sister, had had recourse to witchcraft in order to save him, and that they had made the images of the king, the Count De Valois, and some of the barons in wax. In those days of ignorance and superstition, it was believed that any operations performed in such images would affect the persons they represented; and in the ancient chronicle of Saint Denis, it is gravely asserted, that so long as these had lasted, the said king, count and barons would have daily wasted away, till they had died. Absurd as this may appear, the two ladies were seized and confined in the prison of the Louvre, and the magician, James de Lor, who was said to have assisted them in their magic incantations, was committed to the Chatelet, with his wife, who was afterwards burned, his servant hung on a gibbet, and De Lor himself strangled. Marigny, having been declared guilty of all the crimes that were laid to his charge, was sentenced to be hanged. This iniquitous sentence was executed on the 30th of April, 1315, at break of day (the time at which all executions were then performed), and his body was afterwards suspended on a gibbet at Montfaucon. The Count of Valois on his death-bed acknowledged the injustice of his own conduct, and the inno-

cence of Marigny, whose family was, at a subsequent period, reinstated in all the honors and possessions of which he had been so unjustly deprived.

While the king was thus employed in repressing the disorders which had prevailed in his dominions, and revolving new preparations for his projected attack upon Flanders, he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life. Some authors pretend that he was poisoned, but no mention is made of the author of the crime. Louis was of a liberal and generous disposition, but wanted prudence and firmness ; his intentions were generally good, but he had not resolution sufficient to put them in execution. Had his life been spared, he might probably have corrected his errors, and proved a good king. He only reigned two years, and was interred at Saint Denis.

Louis had, a few months previous to his death, married Clemence, daughter of the King of Hungary, who was pregnant at his decease. This caused an interregnum of some months, for, by the will of Louis, if Clemence brought forth a son, he was of course heir to the throne, with Clemence as regent ; if a daughter, then the crown to be placed on the head of his brother Philip. Clemence, however, gave birth to a prince, who was named John, but lived only five days ; consequently Philip was proclaimed King of France.

PHILIP THE FIFTH.

SURNAMED THE LONG.

A. D. 1316.] Although Philip was the undoubted heir to the throne, he nevertheless met with many obstacles to his accession. These, however, being in part removed, on the Sunday after the Epiphany, Philip and his queen were crowned at Rheims by Robert de Courtenai, Archbishop of that diocese, in the presence of Charles of Valois, and Louis, Count of Evreux. But certain apprehensions induced the king to order the doors of the church to be shut during the ceremony, and the guard to be doubled. No sooner had the young monarch, who had just entered his twenty-fourth year, returned to Paris, than he convened an assembly of the prelates, nobles, and citizens of the capital, who all swore to yield him obedience as their lawful sovereign, and, after him, to obey his son Louis; who, however, died in a few days, at the age of seven months.

At this assembly, an express law was made to exclude females from the throne. It was, indeed, only declaratory of that which had been in force from the commencement of the monarchy, though no occasion for calling it into action had ever occurred—since all the sovereigns, from Hugh Capet to the present time, that is, for the space of three hundred and thirty years, had succeeded to the throne from father to son. Philip's next care was to quell the discontents which prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, by the alternate exertion of force and address. He was employed, during the greater part of his reign, in the adoption of salutary regulations, as well for checking abuses in the

administration of justice, as for facilitating the internal traffic of the kingdom, by establishing an uniformity of coin, weights and measures. But this last design, laudable as it was, had nearly excited a revolt. A report was industriously propagated, that, in order to indemnify those who enjoyed the privilege of coining, he had resolved to impose a tax upon all his subjects, amounting to one-fifth of their property.

Associations were immediately formed in various parts of the kingdom; and the nobility and clergy joined the people in their efforts to resist an impost both onerous and unprecedented. Philip, therefore, was obliged to give up the scheme; but, such was the misery occasioned by the debasement of the coin, that he resolved, at all events, to deprive the barons and prelates of that dangerous privilege.

This measure he enforced with equal spirit and success in Chartres, Anjou, Clermont, and the Bourbonnois, and there is little doubt that he would finally have accomplished the total abolition of private mints, had he not been seized with a violent fever, accompanied by a dysentery which put an end to his life. He expired at Long Champ, on the third of January, 1322, in the twenty-eighth year of his age and sixth of his reign.

His body was conveyed to St. Denis and his heart to the convent of the Cordeliers, at Paris.

Philip was a just and virtuous prince, whose only fault appears to have been an exorbitant love of money, which sometimes led him to adopt measures inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct. Philip left no son. His brother Charles, Count of la Marche, succeeded him to the throne.

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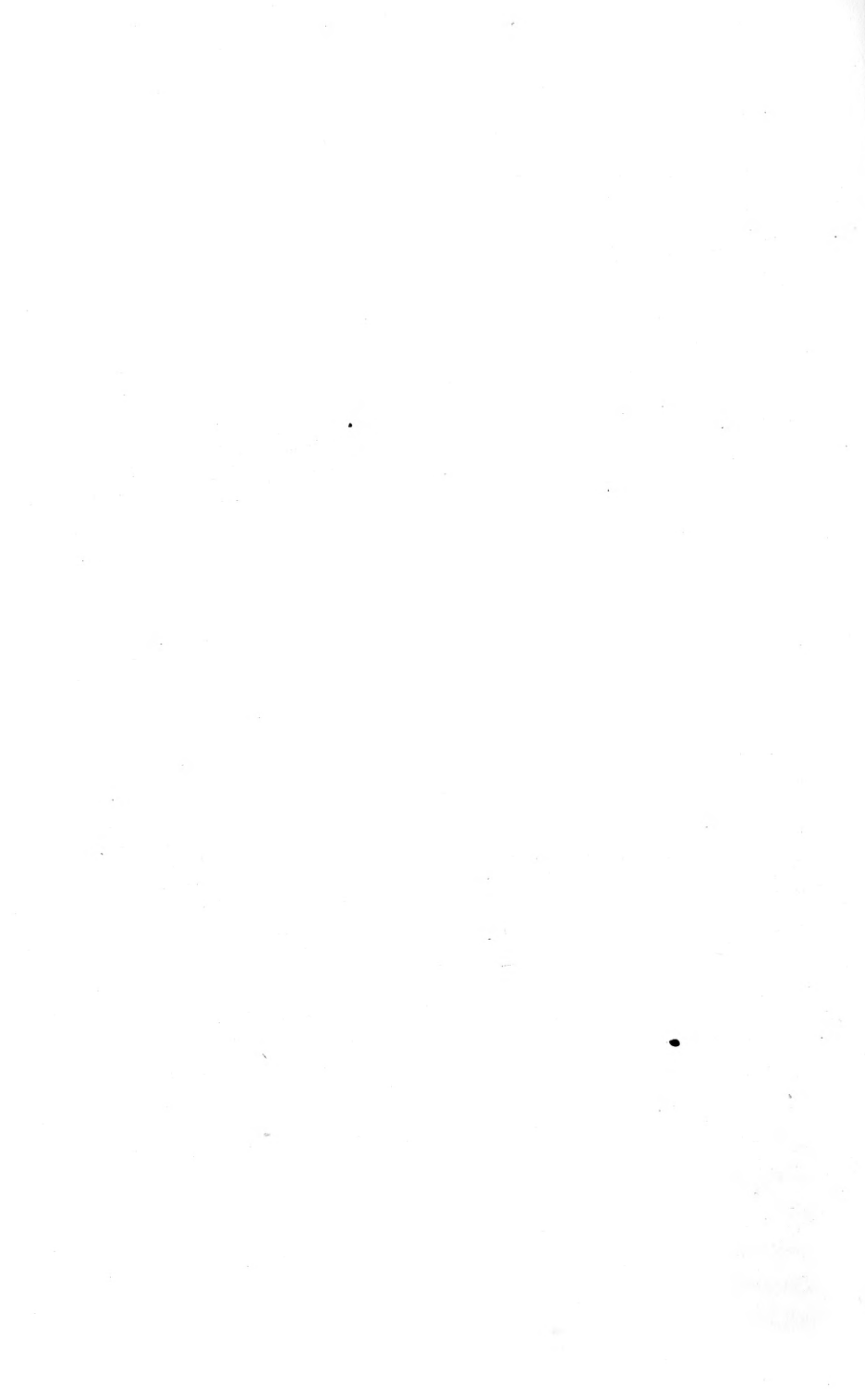


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CHARLES THE FOURTH.

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1322.] Charles, Count of la Marche, brother to Philip, was crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenai, Archbishop of that diocese. His first care was to procure a divorce from his wife, Blanche, of Burgundy, whose previous conduct had caused her to be confined in the prison of Chateau-Gaillard. The court of Rome being inclined to gratify his inclinations, readily granted the divorce, and Charles, soon after, gave his hand to Mary of Luxembourg, daughter to the Emperor Henry the Seventh, and sister to John, Duke of Bohemia. The pope was induced to grant this indulgence to the king, from a promise which he made to undertake a crusade for the relief of the Cyprian and Armenian Christians, who were cruelly harassed by the infidels. But though considerable preparations were made for this expedition, it never took place, Charles having found the immediate concerns of his kingdom sufficient to employ his attention, and to occupy his forces. Apprized of the tyrannical proceedings of the nobility, who seized with impunity the property of their weaker neighbors, and exerted the most despotic sway over the country in which they resided, Charles sent commissioners of approved integrity and known talents into the different provinces, as well to repress their licentious proceedings, as to check the abuses arising from the venality and ignorance of the provincial judges. Charles, having lost his queen, procured a dispensation from the pope, and married Jane, daughter to Louis, Count of Evreux, his paternal uncle. This princess was crowned with great pomp, in the chapel

adjoining his palace. The attention of Charles was now called to an object of less magnitude from its immediate consequence, than from its probable effects. A nobleman of Agenois, named Montpesat, had erected a fortress on a spot which, he pretended, belonged to the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, but which the king's officers maintained to be situated on the domains of the crown. The dispute was carried before the parliament, which decided in favor of the French monarch. Montpesat, enraged at a sentence which he believed to be unjust, had recourse to the seneschal of Guienne, who supplied him with troops; and laying siege to the fortress, which had been taken from him in consequence of the decision of the parliament, carried it by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and hanged some of the officers.

Charles, instead of making reprisals, applied for reparation to the King of England. Edward promised him satisfaction, and even dispatched his brother Edmond, Earl of Kent, to Paris, with full power to investigate the fact, and to decide on the nature of the reparation to be made to the French monarch; who required that the fortress which had occasioned such dispute should be surrendered to him, and that Montpesat, with the seneschal of Guienne, and all their accomplices, should be delivered into his hands, in order to be punished according to the magnitude of their offence. This dispute occasioned a war which resulted in the demolition of the fortress; and all Guienne, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, surrendered to the French.

Shortly after this a peace was concluded on the following terms—that all places taken by either party, in the course of the war, should be restored; that the King of England should pay the King of France fifty thousand pounds sterling, to defray the expenses of the war; and that a general amnesty should be passed.

Charles died soon after the conclusion of this peace in the thirty-third year of his age and sixth of his reign. He was a prince neither distinguished for any great virtues, nor remarkable for his

vices; avarice was his chief defect, but where that did not lead him to acts of oppression, he was careful to enforce a due observance of order, and an impartial administration of justice. Charles had three wives, Blanche of Burgundy, Mary of Luxembourg, and Jane of Evreux. He had children by each, who all died in their infancy. At his death, his queen Jane was far advanced in pregnancy; for which reason, as soon as he was convinced of the impossibility of his recovery, he sent for the principal nobles of his court, and told them, that if the queen should bring forth a prince, he appointed Philip of Valois regent of the kingdom; if a princess, it would then rest with the chief barons of France to decide on whom the crown should devolve.

Charles was the last of the immediate descendants of Hugh Capet, who had swayed the sceptre of France for near three centuries and a half, but which was now transferred to the House of Valois.

PHILIP THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1328.] With this monarch commences the House of Valois. We have seen the French monarchy, founded by Pharamond, extending and diminishing its limits during the reigns of the Merovingian kings; comprising two-thirds of Europe during the splendid reign of Charlemagne; diminishing its lustre under the feeble descendants of Louis the Gentle; assuming a new form from the vigorous policy of Hugh Capet; restored to its former splendor under the benignant influence of Saint Louis, and finally enlarged by the fourth and fifth Philips. Charles the Fair had,

as we have before observed, on his death bed, nominated Philip of Valois to the regency, in the presence of the nobles of his court. The regency was justly considered as a step towards the regal dignity; since whoever obtained it, might, from having the whole force of the kingdom at his disposal, easily procure himself to be proclaimed king, in case the queen should give birth to a daughter. Great precautions, therefore, were necessary in making this important choice, and great interest was made to become the object of it. The queen was delivered of a daughter which settled the crown on the head of Philip, who, with his wife, was crowned at Rheims, amidst the acclamations of the people.

Immediately after the accession of Philip, he was called upon to decide a dispute between Edward of England, and Jane, then Countess of Evreux, as daughter and sole heiress to the eldest son of Jane, Queen of Navarre.

The disputed territories were Navarre, Champagne and Brie. Philip assembled the barons and principal nobles of his court, and with their advice proclaimed the Count of Evreux, and his wife Jane, King and Queen of Navarre—an act of justice that gave his subjects a favorable opinion of his disposition and principles. But Philip, unwilling to part with the provinces of Champagne and Brie, proposed to the new monarch of Navarre an exchange, which, in consideration of the service he had rendered them, they consented to accept.

By the deed of cession, the King and Queen of Navarre renounce “purely, generally, absolutely, perpetually, and for ever,” in favor of the French monarch, his heirs and successors, all the rights which they have or may have to Champagne and Brie. They make a full, pure, and true cession of the same, without any restriction, and with a solemn engagement to make no future demand thereon. The king, in return, gave the queen Jane the counties of Angouleme and Mortain; also other lands in the district of Aunis and in Saintonge, with a pension of many thousand livres from his treasury. The protection of Philip was now claimed by some of his vassals, whose territories had been

invaded by the Flemings. Philip having paid his respects (as was customary) to the holy relics preserved at the Abbey of Saint Denis, and observed the superstitious ceremonies of the times, with the view to secure the smiles of God upon his undertakings, he advanced towards Flanders, and directed his steps towards Cassel, which he invested; then ravaged the circumjacent country. The French army amounted to thirty thousand men, of whom thirteen or fourteen thousand were men-at-arms. The rebel army, much inferior in numbers, was wholly composed of infantry, consisting of peasants, fishermen, and artisans, who had chosen for their general a fishmonger named Colin Dannequin, a man of bold and enterprising spirit, whose courage and cunning appeared to supply his want of military experience.

Such was the champion opposed to a powerful monarch; and such the troops which as illustrious a band of nobles as Europe could produce was destined to encounter. But men fighting in the cause of freedom disdain the vain trappings of rank, and fix their hopes of success on a far nobler foundation. The proud battalions of France looked with supercilious contempt on their undisciplined foes, who, undismayed by their superiority of numbers, prepared to meet them with undaunted resolution; and, had not their valor been too precipitate, Philip would have been compelled to retreat without glory or advantage. The Flemings had chosen a most advantageous post, on an eminence, in the front of Cassel. On one of the towers of that town they hoisted the standard of defiance, on which was represented the figure of a cock, with the following couplet beneath:

“Quand ce coq chante aura,
Le Roi Cassel conquerera.”

Dannequin, in the mean time, was busily employed in forming a scheme for securing by stratagem a victory which he could no hope to obtain by open force. He every day went to the French camp with fish, which he sold at a moderate price, in order to conciliate the confidence of the army, and to procure greater

liberty for observing what passed. He remarked, that the French remained a long time at table; that after their meals, they played and danced, and slept during the heat of the day. These observations, together with the carelessness of the different guards, induced the bold plebeian to form the design of carrying off the king.

At the eve of Saint Bartholomew, about two in the afternoon, an hour which he knew the French devoted to repose, he divided his troops into three bodies, one of which he ordered to march without noise to that quarter of the camp where the King of Bohemia commanded; a second was directed to bend its course against the part that was subject to the orders of the Count of Hainault; and, placing himself at the third, he entered the camp in silence, and penetrated as far as the royal tent, which was negligently guarded. When the Flemings approached, the French imagined that it was a reinforcement come to join the king; and Renaud de Lor, a noble chevalier, impressed with this idea, went out to meet them, and gently chided them for thus disturbing the repose of their friends; but, instead of a reply, he received a wound from a javelin, which stretched him on the ground.

This was the signal for battle. The Flemings instantly drew their swords, and cut down all before them. The alarm was immediately spread throughout the camp, and confused exclamations announced the danger to which the army was exposed. The first who warned the king of his situation was his confessor, a Dominican friar, whose imagination Philip at first conceived to be deranged by fear. He was soon, however, convinced that the danger was real; and having with difficulty procured some one to arm him, all his knights and esquires having sought safety in flight, he mounted his horse, and would fain have advanced to attack the enemy; but being persuaded by Miles de Noyers to wait till he had rallied his troops, that brave knight fixed the royal standard on a rising ground, when all the cavalry hastened to defend it.

The Flemings were now attacked in their turn; and being completely surrounded by the superior numbers of the French, they were all cut to pieces. "Not a man escaped," says Froissart, "not a man fled; they were all killed, and lay one upon another, without having stirred from the spot where the battle began."

The king, in a letter which he wrote on the subject to the Abbot of Saint Denis, makes the number amount to nineteen thousand eight hundred. The French, it is said, lost only *seventeen men*, (an assertion scarcely credible,) though a considerable number of horses were destroyed. Flanders now remained at the mercy of the conqueror, who, having taken the town of Cassel, reduced it to ashes. A priest, having endeavored to dissuade the people from submitting to such rigorous measures, was cowardly attacked by the French officers, when he took refuge in a neighboring house, with fourteen others; the house was immediately set on fire; and the priest and his companions perished in the flames. The French historians speak in terms of exultation of Philip's success in this expedition; they triumph in his victories, and suffer his barbarity to escape without a single reproach. But every friend to humanity must shudder at the indiscriminate slaughter which tarnished the splendor of his victories. In the heat of the battle, the principle of self-defence may naturally rise predominant over every other consideration, and forcibly impel us to destroy, where it might be possible to spare; but, without any such stimulus, and in cool blood, to promote the same massacre of our fellow-creatures, displays a savage ferociousness of mind that every faithful historian should hold up to the execration of posterity. The reign of Philip was anything but pacific. Edward of England having right to small provinces in France, Philip took every opportunity to annoy him, in order to become himself the proprietor. Several trifling battles occurred, and Calais was taken and retaken several times; but Edward, tired of the tyranny of Philip, demanded a truce for three years, during which time Philip fell sick at Nogent

le Roi, where he died in a few days, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. Philip had by his first wife, Jane of Burgundy, John, Duke of Normandy, who succeeded him to the throne; Philip, Duke of Orleans, and one daughter; and by his second wife, Blanche, one daughter, Jane, who died at Beziers, on her way to Barcelona, whither she was going to espouse John, son of the King of Arragon.

JOHN.

A. D. 1350.] The new monarch and his queen were crowned at Rheims on the twenty-sixth of September, and on the same day John conferred the dignity of knighthood on his three sons, Charles the Dauphin, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon; and on his brother, the Duke of Orleans. The pope was no sooner informed of the death of Philip of Valois, than he wrote to the Kings of France and England exhorting them to peace.

Edward, adhering to those maxims of policy which he had adopted at the commencement of his reign, appeared willing to accept the mediation of the sovereign pontiff, but he could only be brought to consent to a confirmation of the truce concluded in the preceding reign, a truce which was prolonged at different times, for the space of three years.

John was now at variance with Philip of Navarre, and Geoffrey of Harcourt, who had been to England and done homage to Edward as Duke of Normandy, and confessed that they held of him the provinces of Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte, and other very considerable estates in Normandy. Edward in return made Geof-

frey lieutenant in Normandy, and promised, as soon as the truce expired, that the Duke of Lancaster should join them with an army of forty thousand men and march at once into the dominions of John, binding themselves by the terms of the alliance to continue till they shall have effected a conquest of the kingdom.

The terms of the truce having expired, preparations were made for their intended march, and the Duke of Lancaster, with a formidable force, joined the forces of Philip of Navarre, and invaded Normandy, preparing for further incursions into the territories of the French king. From thence he penetrated into Perche, and reduced Verneuil, which he dismantled, and partly burned.

As soon as the king was informed of the landing of the English forces, he assembled his troops, and took the road to Verneuil, where he expected to meet the enemy; but he found that they had altered their course, and directed their march towards the town of Aigle.

Thither he accordingly repaired; but on his arrival he found the English so strongly intrenched in the neighboring forests that, fearful of falling into an ambuscade, he thought it prudent to retreat. These transactions in Normandy were but the prelude to the operations of this campaign, although the season was so far advanced that there appeared to be but little time left to undertake any enterprise of importance. An enemy more formidable than the Duke of Lancaster threatened the opposite extremity of the kingdom.

While John was employed in the siege of Breteuil, the Prince of Wales was laying waste the southern parts of France. John had not been informed of the irruption of the Prince of Wales till his return to Paris, after the reduction of Breteuil. The moment he received the intelligence, he swore that he would march against him, and bring him to action wherever he should find him.

Having proceeded on their march till within sight of the enemy, John mounted on a white courser, rode along the ranks, and thus

addressed his men—"Soldiers, when you are at Paris, Chartres, Rouen, or Orleans, you threaten the English, and wish to be in their presence with your helmets on; now you are in their presence; yonder they are: if you wish to take vengeance for the injuries you have sustained, and to punish your enemies for what they have made you suffer, now is your time, for we shall certainly fight them."

The soldiers replied to this laconic harangue by protestations of courage and fidelity.

John now commanded one of the first armies that France had produced for a long time; it amounted to more than sixty thousand men, among whom were the four sons of the king and three thousand nobles. To this formidable army was opposed a body of eight thousand English and about an equal number of Gascons; but weak as it was in comparison with the enemy, whose attack it was destined to sustain, it had the advantage of being commanded by the gallant Prince of Wales, the celebrated hero of Cressy.

The king asked Eustace de Ribault which was the best mode of beginning the attack; and that nobleman advised him to dismount all the men-at-arms, except three hundred of the bravest and best mounted, who should lead the way, and endeavor to force a passage through the English archers. His advice being approved, orders were given accordingly. All the men-at-arms dismounted, except the three hundred who were to begin the attack, under the command of Mareschals Clermont and D'Andreghen, and the German cavalry who were destined to support them. The men-at-arms were ordered to take off their spurs, and to cut their lances down to five feet, for the greater convenience of engaging in close fight. As soon as the troops began to move, they were stopped by the appearance of the pope's legate, who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, hastened to prevent, if possible, the effusion of blood. By John's permission, he repaired to the Prince of Wales, whom he found willing to listen to any terms of accommodation that were not

inconsistent with his own honor, and that of England. He even offered a cession of all the conquests he had made in the course of that and the preceding campaign, by restoring all the prisoners and booty he had taken, and by engaging not to bear arms against France for seven years. But John peremptorily persisted that the prince should surrender himself prisoner, with a hundred of his knights. The negotiation, therefore, was broken off, Edward declaring that he would never accede to such dishonorable terms; and that, whatever fortune might attend him, England should never have his ransom to pay. Early in the morning the two armies were drawn up in order of battle. The French were disposed as before; and the Prince of Wales had, in imitation of his adversary, also divided his army into three lines. The van was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himself, and the rear by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. The Lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced officers, were at the head of different corps.

Just before the action began, the Cardinal de Perigord, the pope's legate, being resolved to make one final effort for an accommodation, again appeared at the head of the French army; but the king and his generals told him they would listen to no terms, and advised him to make a hasty retreat, or he might perhaps have reason to repent his forwardness.

He then took his leave of John, and riding up to the Prince of Wales, said, "My fair son, do your best, for you must fight." "It is our intention to do so, father," replied Edward; "and may God assist the just!" The signal for battle was given, and the English archers plied their arrows with such effect that the marshals and their three hundred men were soon destroyed. The lane was so strewn with the bodies of men and horses that the last ranks were unable to advance.

The noblemen who attended the young princes, instead of attempting to remedy the disorder occasioned by the flight of so many, took them off the field, and sought to conceal their own cowardice beneath the specious pretext of preserving the hopes

of the state. The Duke of Orleans, who commanded the second division, acted still more cowardly, by setting an example of flight to his men, even before he had drawn his sword. The Prince of Wales, observing the confusion that now prevailed in the French army, mounted his horse, and gave orders to such of his men-at-arms, as had hitherto fought on foot, to follow his example. Lord Chandos, who was near him during the whole action, said, "Come along, sir, the victory is our own; nothing now remains but to attack the battalion commanded by the king." Pointing to the King of France, who was distinguished by his martial air, and by a coat of mail, embellished with golden *fleurs de lis*, he exclaimed, "I know that his courage will prevent him from flying; so with the aid of God and St. George, we shall soon have him in our power." "Come along, Chandos," replied the prince; "no one this day shall see me retreat." He then advanced to attack the king's division, which still remained entire, and superior in numbers to the English army, though somewhat dismayed by the flight of their companions. The battle now became serious. The King of France, enraged at the desertion of his two first divisions, determined, by his own conduct, to set a worthy example to his remaining troops. Never did a monarch display greater intrepidity of soul than John evinced on this memorable occasion. The shock was dreadful; neither party could claim a superiority of valor in the bloody fray; equal resolution appeared on both sides; and the ground, strewn with the bodies of the dying and dead, was disputed inch by inch. A body of German cavalry, commanded by the Counts of Sarbruck, Nydo, and Nassau, being placed in front, the Prince of Wales rushed on them with great fury, soon routed them, killed two of their leaders and took the third prisoner. Still, however, the French, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, made a desperate resistance. The Duke of Athens being slain, his brigade gave way and left the king to sustain the undivided fury of the English. His son Philip, fighting by his side, displayed an intrepidity superior to his age. Whenever a blow was

aimed at his father, he rushed forward to catch it; and the wound he received in thus nobly discharging the duties of a child and a hero, was the most glorious of any that was inflicted that day. The Duke of Bourbon was by this time slain, and the standard of France lay prostrate on the ground, clasped in the lifeless arms of the valiant Charney, who had refused to quit the precious charge. The ranks were thinned, the carnage was dreadful; but the king seemed to rise superior to misfortune, and rallying round his person the few surviving nobles, determined, by a desperate effort, to retrieve, if possible, the fortune of the day. Wielding his axe with amazing strength and dexterity, he dealt destruction on all who dared to approach him. In vain did his enemies exhort him to yield. He seemed intent on death or victory.

But exhausted, at length, by such violent and continued exertion, and having received two wounds on his face, from the loss of his helmet, which had fallen off in the heat of the action, a French knight, who had been expelled his country for a murder committed in a private war, approached him, and again exhorted him to surrender.

“To whom shall I surrender?” said the king. “Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales? Could I see him, I might consent to surrender.” “The prince,” answered the knight, “is not here; but surrender to me, and I will conduct you to him.” “Who are you?” asked the king. “Sire,” said he, “I am Denis de Morbec, a knight of Artois. I serve the King of England because I cannot return to France, having spent my fortune.”

John then threw down his gauntlet, saying to Denis, “To you I yield myself.” The Prince of Wales, who had pursued the fugitives to some distance, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, that he might repose himself after the fatigue of the battle. Having inquired after the King of France, and found that he had not fled, he dispatched the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham in search of him; and these noblemen arrived just in time to save the captive prince, as a violent altercation had arisen between a party of English

and Gascon soldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were disputing about his ransom. When Warwick and Cobham appeared, their presence put a stop to the contention. They approached the king with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and offered to conduct him to the Prince of Wales. France lost on this disastrous day, six thousand of her bravest citizens. There was scarcely a noble family in the kingdom but had to deplore the loss of a relation. All historians unite in declaring that the generosity displayed by the conquerors after the battle, added a new lustre to their victory. Minds the most brutal may be endued with courage, and ignorance of danger may impel the callous and unfeeling soul to exertions of valor; but the virtues of moderation and humanity are indispensably requisite to the formation of a hero; and never did mortal possess those virtues in a more eminent degree than young Edward.

Though furious amidst the din of battle, he was now all mildness and humility. When the captive monarch approached his tent, the prince went forth to meet him with a countenance that bespoke the sympathetic feelings of his mind. He received John with every possible mark of tenderness and regard; attempted to soothe him by the most consolatory language that dignified compassion could suggest; paid the tribute of praise that was due to his valor; ascribed his own success to accident, that often, he observed, overturned the best concerted plans; and finally, assured him he had fallen into the hands of those who knew how to honor his virtues and to respect his misfortunes.

John's conduct on this trying occasion showed him worthy the generous treatment he experienced. He suffered no mean depression of spirits to render him forgetful of his own dignity; or to sink the sovereign in the captive. Young Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his own tent for the royal captive, and assisted in serving him. He constantly refused to be seated at table, declaring that he knew too well the distance between a subject and a sovereign to be guilty of such an impropriety.

The French officers who had been taken prisoners, were treated with equal kindness and respect.

During the residence of the royal prisoner at Bourdeaux, whether young Edward had conveyed him since the battle of Poitiers, several attempts were made by the Cardinal of Perigord, the Pope's legate, who acted in the character of a mediator, to promote an accommodation; but the ambitious policy of Edward, King of England, prevented the Prince of Wales from complying with his request. Edward had given his son, previous to his departure from England, full power to conclude a treaty of peace or alliance; but at that time the King of France was at liberty.

Affairs were now changed. He rejected, therefore, every project of pacification that was presented to him, and required that John should be conducted to London. He would only consent to the conclusion of a truce for two years, and that merely from motives of interest, that he might convey the captive monarch with safety to England.

Accordingly the truce was signed, and the King of France was conveyed by night to London, where he was received by Edward with great pomp, and conducted to the palace of the Savoy. John remained a state prisoner to Edward, during the two years of the truce, and was treated with every respect due to his rank. The truce being expired, John became impatient to recover his liberty. He flattered himself that he could obtain from Edward more suitable terms, if he treated with him in person.

The King of England profited by his good fortune to prescribe the most rigorous terms; and John, anxious to return to his dominions, consented to all he proposed. The treaty, signed by the two monarchs, by the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Bourbon, was sent to France for the regent's ratification. An assembly was convened, and William de Dormans, the advocate-general, read the treaty aloud. The terms of the treaty were of such a nature, that the whole assembly burst into one general murmur of indignation, and unanimously exclaimed that they would never submit to such terms, but would continue the war against England.

When the answer of the regent and assembly was delivered

to the two kings, John, who did not expect a refusal, evinced the greatest displeasure; while Edward protested that, before the winter was over, he would enter France with such a formidable army, that the regent and his party would be compelled to accede to any terms he should choose to impose, and that he would not disarm till France was totally subdued. He immediately made the necessary preparations for putting his threats into execution, and on the fourth of November landed at Calais with an army of one hundred thousand men, besides the sons of the principal nobility of England. The troops were attended with six thousand wagons, which carried their baggage, provisions and artillery. Thus the King of England accompanied his army in person as it was his wish to be invested with the royal diadem of France; and so convinced was he of success, that he took with him the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, in order to perform the ceremony. On the arrival of Edward's army at the gates of Paris, the regent and his ministers consulted again on the treaty before proposed to them. They accordingly drew up another much modified from the first, but which conceded to Edward a large portion of the kingdom, and large sums of money, to be paid by instalments. At the payment of the first instalment John was to receive his liberty. This treaty was acceded to by Edward, and the king and Prince of Wales returned to England. A peace being thus concluded, and the first portion of the stipulated sum paid, John returned to Paris. France now enjoyed a tranquillity which it had not experienced for some years, and the king had much labor to perform, in order to bring it to the same subjection as when he left it. However, such was in progress, when, unexpectedly to his barons, John returned to England on what he deemed business of importance with Edward, and such as required his personal attention. There he was taken ill of a fever which put an end to his life in about eight days. He died at London, in the Savoy, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. The body was conveyed to France, and interred with those of his predecessors, in the

Abbey of St. Denis. John had by his wife Bonne, of Bohemia, four sons—Charles, who succeeded him to the throne, Louis, Duke of Anjou, John, Duke of Berri, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and four daughters.

John was fond of literature, and extended his protection and bounty to its professors.

He had caused a great part of the Bible and several other pious books, to be translated into French. Sallust, Lucan, and the commentaries of Cæsar, were also translated during this reign.

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

SURNAMED THE WISE.

A. D. 1364.] The reign of Charles the Fifth was commenced amid war and tumult.

While the new monarch repaired to Rheims to celebrate his coronation, his troops, under Du Guesclin, reduced the castle of Rouboise, which opened the communication by water between Rouen and the capital. Du Guesclin, with a small army of twelve hundred men, the front of which he extended, to make it appear more numerous than it was, attacked and surrounded the Navarrese army, took their leader prisoner, and compelled them to surrender.

This battle was fought three days before the coronation of Charles. The rapidity with which the French pursued their conquests, appeared to promise a speedy termination to the war.

The fate of Brittany was decided soon after this. It surrendered, and did homage to the king. To the intrepidity and valor of Du Guesclin, Charles was indebted for a succession of battles during his reign. There was very little cessation from fire and sword for the space of sixteen years. As a friend to the arts, as a patron of the sciences, as the promoter of many useful regulations of internal police, Charles is entitled to praise. At his death his treasure amounted to seventeen millions of livres. When we consider that, on his accession to the throne, the kingdom was greatly impoverished, and that this enormous sum was saved during a long and expensive war, we may conclude that the necessity of consulting the happiness of the people formed no part of his political creed. Charles left three children: Charles, who succeeded him to the throne, Louis, Duke of Orleans, and Catherine, who married John of Berri, Count of Montpensiere. These troublesome times were unfavorable for the encouragement of commerce, yet it was not wholly neglected. There were several manufactures in France, which, had not luxury introduced a taste for foreign productions, might have sufficed for the consumption of the kingdom. Coarse cloths were fabricated at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Tournay, Rheims, and at several other places.

The mode of preparing wool, indeed, as practised in Flanders, was unknown; and all the fine cloths worn by the nobility and gentry were brought from Brussels. Fine silks were imported from Italy, though silk-worms had been long introduced into the southern provinces of France. As Charles was fond of literature, he extended his protection to all who cultivated the sciences. The taste for study, which had been encouraged by Charlemagne, ceased under his descendants, and was just being revived. The king had spared no expense to procure the best collection of books that could be had; and as the art of printing was not yet invented, not only a very great expense, but great trouble also, must have been incurred in collecting even a small

library. In fact, a manuscript was a precious thing; and often bequeathed as a considerable part of the succession.

Margaret of Sicily left a breviary to her father, the King of Sicily. It was common to see a breviary carefully preserved in the churches, in an iron cage, for the convenience of priests who had no books of their own. It was placed in a part of the church where there was most light, that several priests might recite their office at the same time. The president Henaut says, that Charles may be justly considered as the true founder of the Royal Library at Paris.

John had not more than twenty volumes; but his son increased them to nine hundred, a collection then considered as immense. Under the regency of the Duke of Bedford, the nine hundred volumes were valued at two thousand three hundred and twenty-three livres. Some of these volumes, however, are still to be seen in the king's library at Paris.

Such was the commencement of the royal library, which was considerably augmented by Louis the Twelfth, and Francis the First; but it was principally indebted to Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth for that degree of magnificence which renders it one of the most extensive and valuable collections in the world. The art of making clocks was greatly improved during this reign. Charles invited to Paris a German by the name of *Henry de Vic*, who made and placed in the tower of the king's palace, the largest clock seen at that time. Some years after, he made and put up another at the cathedral of Sens. The town of Dijon is still in possession of a clock made at this period, which the Duke of Burgundy brought from Courtrai when that town was taken by the French, at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Sixth. The discovery of gunpowder is said to belong to Roger Bacon, a monk of the twelfth century; but Barthold Schwartz, otherwise called the *Black Monk*, a native of Friburg, in Germany, having put some saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal into a mortar, for some chemical preparation, a spark of fire accidentally flew into it; when the mortar was rent

asunder by the sudden explosion. The monk, who escaped with his life, had no sooner recovered from his fright, than he began to make experiments, which, by moderating the effects of this dreadful composition, taught him how to use it as a sure engine of destruction. The following article appears in the accounts of the treasurer of war, in the year 1338: "To Henry de Faumichan, for gunpowder and other things necessary for the cannon, at the siege of Puy Guillaume."

From this short sketch of the laws and customs of the French in the fourteenth century, it must appear that there was nothing in their general knowledge, in their arts, nor in their pleasures, worthy of imitation or regret.—But do their virtues form a just object of envy to their posterity?

The recital of their actions, and the events they produced, will afford the best solution of the problem.

CHARLES THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1380.] Though the late king had, when he settled the business of the regency, entrusted the care of his children to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the Duke of Anjou insisted that the government of the kingdom and the care of the princes should alike vest in himself.

These pretensions were of course resisted by his brothers, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the four dukes agreed to refer the matter to arbitration. Four arbiters were accordingly appointed.

After some deliberation, they submitted their judgment to the

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princes, by whom it was solemnly confirmed. The result of the arbitration was, that the king, though he had not attained the age required by the laws, should be crowned at Rheims, and take upon himself the government of the realm, under the guidance and direction of his uncles. It was further privately agreed between the princes, that the education of the young monarch and his brother should be entrusted to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were appointed superintendents of the royal household; and that the Duke of Anjou should keep the regency till the coronation of the king.

This last prince was induced to withdraw those ambitious claims which he first advanced, on being permitted to appropriate to his own use all the furniture, plate, and jewels belonging to his deceased brother, except such as were immediately necessary for his son and successor.

A private fund was set apart for the support of the young princes, arising from the revenues of particular provinces; and the remainder of the public revenue, after all expenses had been paid, was to be placed in the royal treasury, there to remain till the king should have attained the age of majority, and hence have acquired the right to dispose of it.

Meanwhile the necessary preparations for the coronation were carried on; and the court were actually on the road to Rheims, when the apparent calm that subsisted between the princes was suddenly interrupted. The seizure of the treasure, the furniture, plate and jewels of the late king, had not satisfied the avidity of the Duke of Anjou. Informed by the officers of the guard that Charles had deposited a treasure in the castle of Melun, he questioned Philip de Savoisy, one of his chamberlains, on the subject; and that nobleman, eluding his questions, and despising his threats, the regent sent for the executioner, who was ordered to put him instantly to death, unless he revealed the secret. By this means he discovered the object of his search, consisting of a quantity of ingots of gold and silver, which Charles had carefully concealed in the walls, and which his brother now carried off. The com-

motion occasioned by the conduct of the regent, delayed the coronation for some time; but finally the ceremony was performed at Rheims, in the presence of the king's uncles, and most of the principal nobility of France. At the banquet, which succeeded the coronation, the dishes were placed on the table, and the guests waited on by Oliver de Clisson, and other nobles arrayed in cloth of gold. On the return of the count to the capital, the Duke of Anjou ordered all taxes and imposts to be collected without delay. This news immediately spread through the city; and the people flying to arms, swore that they would massacre all who should make the attempt. Next day the collectors went to market, when one of them, having demanded payment of a poor woman, was instantly seized by the populace and torn to pieces. This was a signal for revolt.

The streets were presently filled with insurgents, and the cry of "*To arms!*" "*Liberty!*" was heard from either extremity of the metropolis. The collectors and other officers of the revenue were all put to death wherever they were found.

The number of insurgents hourly increasing, they burst open the doors of the townhouse, where a large supply of arms had been deposited in the preceding reigns, and proceeded to pillage and demolish the houses of those whom they had murdered.

The doors of the prisons being forced, the insurgents gained a fresh accession of strength, by the junction of the inhabitants. Perceiving they wanted a chief, they released Hugh Aubriot from confinement, and compelled him to place himself at their head.

They mounted him on a mule, and conducted him to the house which he had previously occupied.

He took advantage of this event to retire secretly from the capital, which he left that night; and, passing the Seine, fled to Burgundy, his native country, where he passed the rest of his days in tranquil obscurity. The news of this revolt having reached Rouen, where the king still resided, the council determined on sending commissioners to attempt an accommodation.

In this they succeeded; the riots were quelled, and a general

amnesty was passed. It was then agreed that the city should present to the king one hundred thousand livres. The day after this agreement was signed, the young monarch made his entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people. The unpopularity of the Duke of Anjou during the regency of Charles, led the kingdom into a war with almost every neighboring province. When Charles entered on the duties of his station, he found the finances in dreadful disorder. The royal household, instead of the splendor of royalty, exhibited an appearance of want.

About this time the king undertook a journey to Avignon, to confer with Clement, who exhorted him to profit by the troubles which prevailed in Italy, to secure to Louis of Anjou the crown of Naples. The pontiff received the king with the honors due to his rank, and was prodigal in such favors as were best fitted to please Charles and his court. Two days after the arrival of Charles, Louis of Anjou received the crown of Naples and Sicily from the hands of his holiness.

Shortly after the return of the king to Paris, his court began to discover signs of approaching insanity, and caused him to provide for the safety of the kingdom, in case of his death. The king settled the guardianship of his children, which was entrusted to the queen, the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon; if the queen contracted a second marriage after the king's death, she was to forfeit her right to the guardianship.

The king was conveyed from one country seat to another in the hope that the change of air might produce what the faculty had failed to effect. But his mind had lost its force; and at those lucid intervals which sometimes occurred, he was sensible that he never could wield the sceptre of the French nation again with any hope of success. For nearly thirty years Charles could be considered only as the phantom of sovereignty, successively in the possession of different ministers, who prostituted his name to sanction the violence of the great, and the oppression of the people.

Charles the Sixth finished, at this period, a life of misfortune, having survived Henry of England, who married his daughter,

only fifty-one days. His death was occasioned by a violent fever brought on by the paroxysms of his disease.

He left Charles, his eldest son, in the nineteenth year of his age; Henry, only nine months old, and one daughter, the queen of Henry of England. Charles died in the fifty-fourth year of his age and forty-second of his reign.

CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1442.] Charles the Seventh was at the castle of Espally when he heard of his father's death.

So much of France being in possession of the English at this time, it was with difficulty that Charles could be roused to a sense of those active duties which his situation demanded. At this period they were masters of Normandy, the Isle of France, Brie, Champagne, Picardy, Ponthieu, the Boulenois, the town and district of Calais, and the greater part of Aquitaine; while, from their alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, they secured the duchy whence he derived his title. Charles was confined to the provinces of Languedoc, Dauphine and Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, Berry, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, and the Orleannois, with Paris and a part of Anjou and Maine. The commencement of this reign was highly unfavorable to the new monarch. The English, at this time considering themselves masters of two-thirds of France, were anxious to prosecute the war into the small part now occupied by Charles. Accordingly efforts were made, and the English by superiority of numbers were almost everywhere successful: town after town fell into their possession. At Don-Remy, near the

banks of the Maese, which divides Champagne from Loraine, a village belonging to France, lived a country girl of seventeen, called Joan d'Arc. Joan had been taught to hold in detestation the English name; and the ravages of war, which she saw extending even to her father's cottage, increased this abhorrence.

The expulsion of the enemy from her native land, and the triumph of the lawful sovereign, she justly regarded as the only means of correcting the evils which desolated the kingdom. Her zeal increased with her years; her manners were irreproachable. Several years had elapsed, when she presented herself to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, a town in the neighborhood.

She flattered herself that he could supply her with arms, and an escort to enable her to repair to court: but Baudricourt dismissed her with contempt. Some time elapsed when she again visited him. The governor, believing her bewitched, wished to have her exorcised by the curate of the parish. She maintained, however, the truth of her mission; and assured him that the royalists had that day sustained a defeat near Orleans. The account of the battle of the Herrings, which arrived soon after, staggered the governor. Joan's revelations thenceforth met with general credit, and she was regarded as a preternatural instrument of Providence. Having surmounted this difficulty, she was furnished with a suit of armor; and two gentlemen, with their servants, were appointed to accompany her to court.

She arrived at Chinon, where Charles was then residing, and after some delay was admitted to the royal presence. Though Charles, for the purpose, divested himself of every ensign of royalty, she distinguished him from all his courtiers without hesitation, and addressed herself immediately to him. She promised to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to be crowned at Rheims. The energy with which she expressed herself made converts of all who heard her. Charles, who could lose nothing by the experiment, resolved to try what effect her presence would have on the drooping spirits of his troops. This resolution was no sooner adopted than reports were industriously circulated that

she had revealed a secret to the king which, being only known to himself, must certainly have been discovered to her by heavenly inspiration. The troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honor under the auspices of this female champion.

As soon as the nation was duly prepared for her reception, she assumed the habit of a man, was armed cap-a-pie, mounted on a stately courser, and exhibited to the people. When a sword was offered her she desired that somebody might be sent to the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, for a particular sword, which would be found on a tomb behind the great altar. Her request was complied with, and the weapon was found and brought to her.

When the news of her approach reached the English camp, the soldiers, infected with the general contagion, were seized with a secret horror: nor could they derive either courage or consolation from the persuasions of their leaders, who assured them that the *maid*, far from being the vicegerent of Heaven, was a mere engine of the devil.

She employed the few days before her march upon Orleans in exhorting the troops to place all their hopes in the assistance of Heaven. Her native eloquence, her fervent piety, forced incredulity itself to believe, and converted the most hardened hearts. The effects of her exhortations and example were universally felt. People saw with admiration a girl of seventeen, who could neither read nor write, performing at once the opposite functions of a general and a missionary.

She assembled all the priests in the town, and having formed them into a battalion, placed them at the head of the troops, as they marched out of Blois, preceded by a banner decorated with a cross. The air resounded with hymns, which the soldiers sang aloud.

The troops became as enthusiastic as their leader; they marched forward with unusual confidence, impressed with the conviction that their efforts must be crowned with victory, and that they were favored with the most sublime revelations. The convoy approached Orleans on the 29th of April, and, after a faint and

spiritless resistance by the English, whose troops were unmanned by their superstitious fears, was conveyed into the city without loss.

Joan, previous to her departure from Blois, had sent, by a herald, a letter addressed to the King of England, the Duke of Bedford, and to the generals who commanded the siege, in which she summoned the English to leave Orleans, and restore the kingdom to the lawful sovereign. On the fourth of May, the French, under the command of Joan, made a sally and attacked one of the English forts, which after some resistance was carried. A few days after two other forts were reduced. In these different assaults, Joan was always the foremost, with her standard in her hand, displaying the coolness and intrepidity of a hero. Her courage was of a superior kind, as she had extreme repugnance to the effusion of human blood, and never killed any one. The enemy, having abandoned one of their forts, and retired to another, were followed by Joan and her soldiers, and were obliged to retire.

The English had now but one fort remaining in their hands. On this post, the most important of all, the success of the siege depended. The attack was deferred till the next day.

Accordingly on the following day Joan, with the standard in her hand, animating the soldiers, appeared before the fort. The English, struck with terror, quitted the entrenchment, and ran for refuge to the drawbridge to cross the Loire, when by some accident most of them were drowned, and the remainder surrendered. Thus was the first object of Joan's extraordinary mission accomplished, a mission the divinity of which not the most incredulous of the French could now dare to dispute. This event is still celebrated at Orleans, on the eighth of May, when public thanksgivings are offered up in the cathedral, and an eulogy is pronounced on the deliverer of the city. Joan, now having possession of Orleans, proposed to march toward Rheims, and attack the different towns between the two places.

This was commenced, and no less than six cities and towns

surrendered, which brought her and her fortunate army to the walls of Rheims. This accomplished, the citizens sent deputies to Joan to request that she would favor them with her presence. The gates of the city were thrown open and Joan conducted her sovereign (according to her promise) into the city of Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity. As soon as it was finished, the Maid of Orleans, who had stood near his person in complete armor, with her sacred banner in her hand, fell at his feet, and embracing his knees, with tears of joy entreated his permission to return home, the two grand objects of her mission being completed. But the period was not far distant when the Maid of Orleans was doomed to become the victim of a barbarous age. The conspicuous part which this heroine played in the transactions of the present reign; the celebrity which she justly acquired by the extent and importance of her services; her courage, her character, her virtues, her misfortunes—all combine to render her an object highly interesting to the reader, and to justify the historian in paying due honor to her memory, by unveiling the iniquity of her persecutors, and the wicked means used for the destruction of a girl of eighteen, whose only crime was the attempt to restore her sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and to rescue her country from oppression. At the battle of Compeigne, Joan was taken prisoner, by the treachery of Flavy, governor of that city, who was bribed by the enemy to deliver the Maid of Orleans into their hands. This was done, and Joan, in less than one month, was destined to end her life at the stake. She stood with a crucifix in her hand amidst the burning pile, uttering with her last breath the name of Jesus. When her body was consumed, the Cardinal of Winchester ordered her ashes to be collected, and thrown into the Seine.

That rapid succession of events which continued from the commencement to the conclusion of his reign, had scarcely permitted Charles to enjoy an instant of repose. Incessantly obliged to struggle with adversity; equally harassed by the persecutions of his enemies and by those of his own family; continually thwarted

in his designs; often reduced to extremities the most cruel and distressing, by the misconduct of a reckless son, the period of his dissolution was greatly accelerated.

He died at Meun-sur-Yevre, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of an unhappy reign.

LOUIS THE ELEVENTH.

A. D. 1461.] Louis was at Geneppe, when he received the news of his father's death, and the intelligence is said to have inspired him with a joy he could not conceal. On the day of the coronation, immediately after dinner, the Duke of Burgundy knelt to the king, and conjured him, by the sacred ties of religion and humanity, to pardon all those who, in the preceding reign, had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure, and to continue in their different posts such officers as had served the king his father with fidelity.

Louis was too intent on the gratification of his resentment to comply with a request that interfered with his projects of revenge.

When Louis made his public entry into Paris, where he was received with every demonstration of joy, respect and loyalty, two children, representing angels, descended and placed a crown on his head. After the usual ceremonies were finished, the king repaired to the Hotel Des Tournelles, where he established his residence. In 1463, Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry the Sixth of England, embarked for the continent to solicit succors and assistance from her foreign connections.

She paid a visit to the king at Chinon, who expressed the greatest concern for her misfortunes.

During her residence at the French court, she stood godmother to the only son of Charles, Duke of Orleans, by Mary of Cleves, his third wife. The king was the godfather, and he gave his own name to the young prince, who afterwards ascended the throne of France, under the appellation of Louis the Twelfth. But notwithstanding the professions of friendship which the king made to Margaret, all he could be persuaded to grant to her earnest solicitations, were a loan of twenty thousand livres, and a supply of two thousand troops, under the command of Breze, seneschal of Normandy, who is said to have entertained for the queen more tender sentiments than pity and compassion.

For this the interested monarch made her sign, in her husband's name, a truce for one hundred years, and a promise to restore the city of Calais.

Margaret embarked for England, but the defeat of the royalists at the battle of Hexham, caused her with her son to return to France and take up her residence under the protection of her brother, the Duke of Calabria, in Lorraine.

Twenty-two years of the reign of Louis were passed in broils and tumults among his neighbors; campaign after campaign followed in quick succession; but in few was he successful. Frequently had he to sue for terms. Having found that his health declined apace, he paid a visit to his son, whom he had kept almost in a state of captivity at the castle of Amboise, where—except the officers of the household—none were permitted to approach him but servants and persons of the meanest condition.

Louis, in the presence of the nobles who accompanied him, thus addressed his son:—"My son, I know not what term the Supreme Being has prescribed to the duration of my existence; but age and habitual infirmities warn me it is time to prepare for my last hour. Both my own wishes and the laws of the realm designate you for my successor. Learn, then, the full extent of the obligations which that title imposes. You are destined to

ascend the first throne in the world, and to bear the appellation of *Most Christian King*. For that rank, and for that august prerogative, you are indebted to your ancestors, who, by their valor and their zeal in the cause of religion, have exalted themselves above all the princes in Christendom.”

As Louis approached nearer the grave, he anxiously employed himself in laying plans for what he intended the happiness of the kingdom.

Having complied with all the forms required by the Catholic religion, he died in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. He was interred at the church of Notre-Dame at Cleri.

CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

A. D. 1483.] Charles, either from the delicacy of his constitution, or from motives of jealousy, had been deprived of all the advantages of education. The orders of his father to prevent his application to study, had been so rigorously enforced, that, on his accession to the throne, he could neither read nor write.—Ashamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no sooner became his own master, than he pursued his studies with indefatigable zeal; he even acquired a taste for books, and engaged Robert Gaguin, general of the Mathurins, to translate for his use the commentaries of Cæsar, and the life of Charlemagne. It was easy to perceive, from the admiration which he betrayed on perusing the account of the martial achievements of those heroes, that a thirst for military glory formed one of the leading features

of his mind. But his utmost efforts proved inadequate to supply, in a full degree, the want of an early education. He always retained an invincible repugnance to business; displayed a want of penetration in his choice of ministers, and abandoned himself without reserve to his favorites, who too often abused his confidence: but with these failings, Charles was frank, generous and magnanimous; and "*so good*"—says Philip de Comines—"that a better creature never existed!" Although by the laws of the realm Charles was of age to assume the reins of government, since he had just entered his fourteenth year, yet it was not deemed prudent to entrust them to such feeble hands. Louis, therefore, had ordained by his will that the administration should be vested in his eldest daughter, Anne of France, wife to Peter de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. The king had been influenced in his choice by the consideration that the princes of the blood would not think themselves degraded in being subjected to a princess, who, by her birth, was placed above them; that Anne, moreover, could have no interest in defrauding the lawful heir of his right, since her sex precluded her from wearing the crown herself, and her husband could have no possible claim to it; and, lastly, that if, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken, civil commotions should arise, nobody was better calculated for quelling them than herself.

In fact, all the historians of that age concur in describing her as possessed of profound genius, a strong mind, and all the graces peculiar to her sex, combined with all the virtues that characterize the greatest of the other sex. Madame—for by that appellation was the eldest daughter of the king ever distinguished—now repaired to court, followed by a powerful party, on whom were bestowed the honors and rewards belonging to the government. She began by confirming the judges and other magistrates in the possession of their respective posts; and then directed her attention to the means of affording relief to the people. But before she diminished the receipts, she wisely took care to lessen the expenses. The six thousand Swiss that had been taken into pay, by Louis

the Eleventh, she prudently dismissed, and, after paying all that was due to them, sent them back in an honorable manner to their own country. She likewise disbanded several expensive companies of national troops.

By the adoption of these salutary measures, Madame was enabled to relieve the people, by remitting the last quarter of the taxes of the present year. At the same time, she promised them a more considerable diminution, when proper regulations could be made for that purpose. Louis having, on mere suspicion, sentenced a great number of persons to imprisonment or exile, his daughter ordered the prison doors to be thrown open, recalled those who had been banished, and bestowed favors on such as her father had persecuted with the greatest inveteracy.

Charles the Eighth having now arrived at years of maturity to wield the reins of government, Madame withdrew from the guardianship which she had conducted with honor to herself, and great good to the country. Nothing of great importance occurred during the reign of Charles. Henry the Seventh of England landed at Calais, with twenty-five thousand men, but Charles averted all symptoms of war by paying large sums of money, the arrears of pension due Edward the Fourth and claimed by Henry. A treaty of peace was also concluded with the King of Spain, who had threatened to invade France.

Alphonso the Second, King of Naples, at this time abdicated the throne in favor of his son Ferdinand, and retired to a convent. This gave great offence to the Neapolitan nobles, who were on the eve of a revolution, and the aid of Charles was solicited. The town of Aversa, situated midway between Capua and Naples, sent a deputation to Charles. The capital itself was in commotion. Charles advanced to Aversa where he met a deputation from the citizens of Naples, who sent him the keys of the city, and in a few days he made his triumphal entry into that capital, amidst the acclamation of its inhabitants. An assembly was convened at which Charles was present, and an amicable adjustment of matters allowed him to return to his kingdom. During his

stay in Italy, Charles had contracted a taste for architecture, and on his return, he gave orders for the construction at Amboise, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice than any which had yet been seen in France. He meant to adorn this palace with a variety of costly furniture, statues and pictures, which he had brought from Italy; and that the building might correspond with the richness of the embellishments, he had the precaution to attach to his service the most skillful architects and the most celebrated painters he could meet with during his expedition. From a gallery in this castle, he was observing a game of tennis that was playing in the grounds below. Desirous that the queen might partake of the amusement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but in passing through a door, he struck his head with violence against the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate consequence from the accident; but, after remaining some time in the gallery, he suddenly fell senseless to the ground. The attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a couch which stood near. Thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly lost it again. He expired the same night in the twenty-eighth year of his age and fifteenth of his reign. The amiable qualities of Charles had acquired him the surname of *the Affable*; and his loss was deeply regretted by all ranks of the people.

With Charles ended the line of Valois.

57



58



59



60



LOUIS THE TWELFTH.

A. D. 1498.] With Louis the Twelfth commenced the Orleans race. Charles dying without issue, the crown descended to Louis, Duke of Orleans, his cousin, grandson to the Duke of Orleans, who was assassinated at the instigation of John, Duke of Burgundy.

The new monarch was in his thirty-sixth year, and had consequently attained to a maturity of vigor both of body and mind. He had also received some salutary lessons in the severe school of adversity; and his misfortunes, with the reflections they occasioned, had produced a wholesome change in his disposition, by teaching him to restrain the sallies of passion, and to submit the suggestions of enthusiasm to the dictates of reason. Louis the Twelfth was crowned at Rheims, and on the following day made his public entry into Paris. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, who had alike shared with him the smiles and the frowns of fortune, by raising him to the dignity of prime minister; and never did a favorite better deserve the confidence of his sovereign.

This prince had been compelled at an early age, and against his will, to marry Jane, the youngest daughter of Louis the Eleventh, a princess of amiable disposition, but very deformed in person; and having never lived with her, Pope Alexander the Sixth pronounced the marriage null and invalid. Jane submitted with pious resignation to a sentence which deprived her of a crown, and only expressed her wish to be enabled to reward her domestics, and to relieve the poor. The king accordingly as-

signed her the revenues of the province of Berri for her support, and retiring to a nunnery which she founded at Bourges, the capital of that province, she took the veil, and closed a life of humble virtue.

On the decease of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany retired into her own hereditary dominions, and maintained the rights of an independent sovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from disposing of her hand, in case of his death without male issue, to the prejudice of the state; but a stipulation, in which state policy was opposed to natural rights, was deemed equivocal, and prudence warned Louis to secure the important acquisition of Brittany by measures the most effectual. She refused, however, to accede to the proposals of Louis, till that monarch had consented, that in case she should die without children, her duchy should revert to the heirs of her house; and that her marriage should be celebrated at the city of Nantz.

The ceremony was accordingly performed in that city, in January, 1499, whence the king conducted her to Paris. The king now confirmed the treaties with all the neighboring powers. Those which had been concluded with the republics of Venice and Florence were renewed. The Pope was secured in the interest of France; the peace with England was confirmed; Ferdinand and Isabella withdrew their troops from Italy; the archduke Philip did homage to the king at Arras: but his father, Maximilian, was more difficult to treat with. The king repaired to Lyons, and dispatched his army into Italy, under the command of Louis of Luxembourg, Count of Ligni. The Venetians, at the same time, advanced their troops to the banks of the Adda, and took possession of all the territory which the king had ceded to them between the rivers Adda and Serio. The inhabitants of Milan exhibited symptoms of revolt, but the French entered the Milanese, and reduced and sacked, after a vigorous resistance, all the towns between Milan and the Loire. Louis, who had remained at Lyons, was no sooner informed of the success of his troops, than he hastened across the Alps, entered the capital

of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes ; and, during the three months that he remained there, by the advice of Cardinal d'Amboise, he employed himself in recalling those who had been banished by Sforza, in remitting a fourth of the imposts, in establishing a court of justice, and in assiduous endeavors to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of Milan. During the reign of Louis several incursions were made by the Spaniards, but they were hastily repulsed ; by the Swiss, also, who entered the territories of Burgundy, but were glad to return, though with considerable loss. The queen died at this time, regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom she was tenderly loved. Louis, still grieving for the loss of Anne, his late queen, had no inclination to marry again ; but the account he received of the charms of Mary, Princess of England, joined to his desire of promoting the happiness of his people, by the restoration of peace, was a motive too strong to be resisted, and he accordingly gave Longueville full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the two monarchs. Louis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English ; that Henry should be paid six hundred thousand crowns ; that Princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any Queen of France, even the last who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on succors with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.

Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Louis met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated. This marriage diffused an universal joy throughout the kingdom, and the court became one scene of festivity and pleasure. Louis was enchanted with the beauty, grace and numerous accomplishments of his youthful consort, but, alas ! how transitory are earthly joys ! In less than one year after the happy marriage, he was seized with a dysentery which caused his death in four days. He died at the palace of Tournelles, in Paris, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and the seventeenth of his reign.

Louis the Twelfth had, by his consort, Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles the Eighth, two sons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters: Claude, married to Francis the First, and Renée, who espoused the Duke of Ferrara.

The superior integrity of Louis, in an age when most of the European princes were actuated by a spirit of perfidy, and made interest the grand object of their pursuits and the sole rule of their conduct, merits the highest commendations which the pen of the historian can bestow. A professed enemy to falsehood and equivocation, he punished with severity every deviation from truth. He died universally lamented by his subjects, who had bestowed on him the honorable appellation of *The Father of his People*.

FRANCIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 1515.] With Louis the Twelfth expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and the sceptre of France was transferred to that of Angouleme.

Francis the First succeeded his great uncle Louis, without opposition or difficulty. The order of succession was firmly established; and this was the third time, since the accession of the monarchs of the Capetian race, that the crown, in default of heirs male, had passed to a collateral branch.

The coronation of Francis was performed at Rheims, amidst the acclamations of a people, whose affections his external endowments and popular manners were well calculated to acquire. But the adulation he received had a fatal effect on his conduct,

by inflating his pride and flattering his ambition. After regulating the internal administration of his kingdom, Francis turned his attention to foreign affairs. His first care was to renew the treaty of peace which his predecessor had concluded with Henry the Eighth of England. He received homage from the Count of Nassau, in the name of his master, the Archduke Charles; from the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois. During these transactions the attention of Francis was called to the innovations made by the Swiss, who had entered Savoy, and secured all the passages of the Alps. Being privately directed by a peasant who inhabited the mountains, to a secret path, which was left unguarded, because believed to be impracticable, the French descended the Alps into the marquissate of Saluzzo, and Bayard, and after a sharp engagement were victorious. History affords scarcely any example of a battle disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon, and lasted more than three hours after the night closed; when lassitude and darkness separated the combatants without abating their animosity.

Francis, who passed the night completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was surprised to find himself, at the dawn of day, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge with renovated vigor.

At the end of seven hours' hard fighting, Francis found himself master of the field, which was strewed with the bodies of ten thousand Swiss, and from three to four thousand of the French, among whom were many of the nobility. The reign of Francis may be termed an unsettled reign, for the King of Spain more than once made irruptions into his territories, but each time was repulsed with considerable loss.

The death of his son Charles, Duke of Orleans, impressed Francis with a grief which nothing could mitigate.

The remaining hours of his life were embittered by a slow fever continually preying upon him. He wandered from one palace to another in a state of languor and depression, and, at

length expired at Rambouillet, in the fifty-third year of his age and the thirty-second of his reign. Francis had by his first wife, Claude of France, daughter of Louis the Twelfth; Francis, who died two years before his father; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Charles, Duke of Orleans, who also died young, and Louisa Charlotte, who married James the Fifth of Scotland.

Francis, who was a great patron of the sciences, had formed a plan for the erection of a college for the study of dead languages; but he did not live to put it in execution. He established, however, salaries for professors of Greek, Hebrew and Latin, medicine and surgery. A mathematical professor was also established during his reign; and the study of natural philosophy began to be cultivated with diligence and success. From the year 1528 to 1534, perpetual summer prevailed in France. During four years not two days' frost was experienced. Nature, exhausted by a continual heat, incessantly produced blossoms, but had not strength to bring the fruit to maturity. A scarcity of provisions was the consequence of this phenomenon; the harvest was scarcely sufficient to supply seed for the following year. Insects of every kind multiplied *ad infinitum*, and destroyed the little fruit which the earth yielded. A dreadful famine prevailed, and the consumption of unwholesome food gave rise to a disorder which carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of France.

HENRY THE SECOND.

A. D. 1547.] Henry the Second completed his twenty-ninth year the day on which he succeeded to the throne. He was possessed of full vigor both of body and mind: handsome in his person, but awkward in his manners and address; accomplished in all the martial exercises of the age, but averse to business, and every pursuit which required study and attention. As soon as Henry was crowned, his attention was drawn to the affairs of Spain. Threats had reached his ears, and, anxious for peace with all his neighbors, he listened to the expedient employed by his secretary of state, Montmorenci, for the conclusion of peace. Montmorenci negotiated two treaties of marriage—one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip of Spain; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the Duke of Savoy. Henry having, by this means, secured an honorable establishment for his sister and his daughter, granted, in consideration of these marriages, terms both to Philip and the Duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve. The principal articles in the treaty between Henry and Philip were, that a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies; that the two monarchs should labor in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian church; and that all the conquests made by either party on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in 1531, should be mutually restored. Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe.

All the causes of discord, which had so long embroiled the

powerful monarchs of France and Spain, seemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated. The greatest rejoicings and festivities took place on the occasion of these marriages. A grand tournament was held in the Rue Saint Antoine, at which the king bore away the palm of victory. But as he was retiring from the circle, he perceived two lances, at one end of the lists, which were unbroken. One of these he took himself, and the other he sent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards, a man eminently skilled in all martial exercises, inviting him to break it with his sovereign in honor of the ladies.

Montgomery hesitated for some time, and even twice refused to obey the summons. The Queens of Scotland and France too, who were present, sent to entreat the king to content himself with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no further risk. Henry, however, persisted, and at length sent a positive order to Montgomery to prepare for the assault. He obeyed: the attack was violent; their lances were shivered in pieces; but the king's mask, having been deranged by the shock, one of the broken pieces of his adversary's lance pierced his forehead, just above the left eye, and he fell senseless to the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace, and the surgeons, after examining the wound, declared it not incurable, though dangerous; but an abscess having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmost skill proved ineffectual, and Henry expired in the forty-first year of his age, and the twelfth year of his reign. The character of this monarch may be traced in a few words. In his disposition he had more of the warrior than the statesman. Active and intrepid, he was better formed for obedience than command. A culpable facility of temper subjected him to perpetual imposition, and betrayed him into situations by which he was not only degraded as a monarch, but disgraced as a man. Henry married Catharine de Medicis, by whom he had seven children. Francis, the eldest, succeeded his father to the throne.

FRANCIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 1559.] Henry was succeeded by his son Francis the Second, who, though the eldest of seven children, had but just entered his sixteenth year, when he was called to the throne. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or design, but from necessity; for frequent sickness and habitual languor rendered him totally unfit for mental exertion, and for those martial exercises which the times required of the kings of France. Francis was crowned at Rheims by the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The debility of the king was observed to be on the increase. He was advised by his physicians to repair to Blois, where the air was more salubrious and temperate than at Paris, and there prepare himself by moderate exercise for the use of the aromatic baths. Some evil designing person, apprised of his intentions, had spread a report that the king was afflicted with the leprosy, and that the only remedy which could be of service to him was to bathe in the blood of young children. A number of emissaries had visited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and while some, without entering into any explanation, took an exact list of the most healthy and beautiful children, others, who followed them at some distance, revealed the secret, and promised parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the erasure of their children's names from the fatal list. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, absurd as it was, obtained such credit with the common people that, instead of the acclamations of joy with which they were wont to hail their sovereign, alarm, sorrow and desolation marked the progress of the court. Most of the towns and villages were abandoned, while such as had courage to remain in their houses,

had strongly barricaded the doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows. Troops of peasants, carrying off their children, were seen in the fields at a distance from the high-roads; and when pursued, they fell on their knees, and in the most piteous accents implored mercy for their children.

The king, at this unusual spectacle, burst into tears, and insisted with so much eagerness on knowing the cause of it, that his attendants were under the necessity of telling him the truth. He endeavored to dispel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the strictest search to be made after the authors of such an infamous report; but they had all disappeared except one, who was apprehended at Loches. This man, when applied to the rack, had the audacity to maintain that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of Cardinal Lorraine. During this short reign, Castlenau, Raunai, and Mazeres, were executed for having laid plots against the government. The Guises, seconded by Catharine of Medicis, had taken a dislike to the Prince of Conde, who, she thought, had some hand in the conspiracy against the government. Notwithstanding the prayers and solicitations of the Princess of Conde, who threw herself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy in favor of her husband, Francis, who was secretly instigated by the queen-mother, with an unfeeling perseverance unnatural to his age, pursued the necessary measures for bringing the Prince of Conde to trial. The prince protested against such proceedings, and although his principal judges refused to sign the sentence, Francis insisted, and the prince was ordered into confinement. Not more than a week after this inhuman sentence, Francis, as he was attending vespers, fainted in the church, whence he was conveyed senseless and motionless to his apartment, where he expired after an imbecile reign of one year.

His body was privately conveyed to the royal vault of Saint Denis, attended only by Lansac and La Brosse, who had been his governors.

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CHARLES THE NINTH.

A. D. 1560.] On the death of Francis, the crown devolved upon his next brother Charles, then only in the tenth year of his age, who accordingly received the oaths of the magistrates and great officers of the court, whom he confirmed in the possession of their places and privileges. The early age of the infant monarch incapacitating him from holding the reins of government, his mother, Catharine de Medicis, at first assumed the authority, though not the title, of regent, but after a short time she was compelled to relinquish a considerable portion of her power to the King of Navarre, who by a council was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The states-general, summoned by Francis to assemble at Orleans, were suffered to meet, in consequence of a decision *that the king never died*, on the appointed day.

Charles ordered the sentence of the Prince of Conde to be remitted, and the prince to receive his liberty; but that nobleman refused to leave the place of his confinement until the Guises were removed from court. However the Cardinal Lorraine interfered, and the Duke of Guise consented to retract; and he expressed his disapprobation of the proceedings against the prince, and his belief of his innocence.

Conde repaired to Fontainbleau, where he was publicly justified from the charges which had been preferred against him.

Nearly the whole of this reign was a scene of war and bloodshed. Nearly every province in the kingdom was in commotion: the wars were between the Protestants and the Catholics. The Protestants were determined to hold their religious meetings in their own way. This caused fear and uneasiness among the pre-

lates and leaders of the Catholic party, since the Calvinists had already made great impression on the minds of the people, whose eyes began to discern with disgust the useless mummery of the Catholics.

This reign will be ever memorable for the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, so called from its having commenced on Saint Bartholomew's day. This massacre was intended to extirpate in France all Protestants. The Calvinists, who had for some years been increasing in numbers, now became formidable; and fears were entertained of the overthrow of the papal religion.

A private council was held, attended by Catharine in person and the Guises, in which it was decreed that a general massacre should take place, and that not one Protestant should be left alive in the kingdom. When this was proposed to the king his feelings revolted at the thought, but Catharine, who had perfect control of her son, was firm.

As the fatal hour drew nigh, Charles was goaded by the stings of remorse, and betrayed such fear and irresolution, that all the art of his mother was requisite to extort from him an order to the assassins to begin their dreadful business. "Shall the occasion," said the blasphemous Catharine, "that God presents, of avenging the obdurate enemies of the church, be suffered to pass through want of courage? How much better is it to tear in pieces those corrupt members, than to rankle the bosom of the church, the spouse of our Lord?" This impious exhortation expelled from his bosom every sentiment of humanity, and, his eyes glaring with rage, he thus pronounced the horrid mandate—"Go on, and let none remain to reproach me with the deed!" Having thus attained her aim, Catharine anticipated the fixed hour of the signal, which was given by ringing the bell of the church of Saint Germain.

The Duke of Guise, who had been the mean instrument in setting afoot this bloody deed, immediately issued forth, with a select party, to perpetrate their acts on all Protestants, but first on the Admiral Coligny, the head of that party. The massacre

continued with unrelenting fury for three days. The Protestant chiefs were assaulted by the assassins and inhumanly butchered without means of defence. The destruction of about six thousand Protestants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal issue of this dreadful massacre, which was by some called *The Parisian Matins*, as the massacre in Sicily, in 1281, had been denominated *The Sicilian Vespers*. A jubilee, or public thanksgiving for the happy discovery of the pretended plots of the Protestants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and, by an edict, the day of Saint Bartholomew was ordered to be annually solemnized by religious processions.

Impetuous, violent, choleric, vindictive and cruel, Charles disgraced by his actions the throne, of his ancestors. No parent's fostering hand had sown the seeds of virtue in his infant mind. All those generous feelings which are the source of true benevolence, and give dignity to man, were carefully suppressed by an unnatural mother, whose chief object was to render her son a prodigy of dissimulation. In the execution of this detestable plan, she too fatally succeeded; and she lived to behold the dreadful effects of her own wickedness. Charles caused a smith's forge to be erected in his palace, where he amused himself with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horse-chains, and other pieces of smiths' work. He piqued himself on his talent of imitating, with the greatest nicety, the various coins in circulation, such as the crown, the double ducat, and the testoon. When he showed one of them to the Cardinal Lorraine for his approbation, "Ah, sir," said the prelate, "you can do what you please, for you always carry your pardon in your own pocket." Charles died in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign, and was interred at Saint Denis.

HENRY THE THIRD.

A. D. 1574.] On receiving the welcome news of his brother's decease, Henry secretly quitted Poland, and hastily fled from the throne to which he had so lately been elected. Before the tidings were publicly known, or his designs could be impeded, he had reached the frontiers of Germany, and was entertained at Vienna by Maximilian with magnificence. Thence he directed his course through the territories of the Venetians, rested a few days at Turin, and, in little more than three months from the death of Charles, embraced his mother at Lyons, and received from her hands the reins of government.

Amidst the storms which threatened his throne on every side, Henry was crowned at Rheims by the Cardinal of Guise, and the next day bestowed his hand on Louisa, daughter to the Count of Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine.

The war with the Protestants was maintained with various success. The Duke of Guise acquired fresh laurels by the defeat of a considerable body of German auxiliaries; but Lesdiguières established himself in Dauphine, and the queen-mother, alarmed at his progress, released the Mareschals de Cosse and Montmorenci, and prevailed on the latter to negotiate a truce. It was concluded for six months only, and the towns of Niort, Saumer, La Charité, Mesieres, St. Joan de Angeli, and Cogniac, were surrendered to the reformers, as pledges for their security. The Duke of Guise, on his way to attend a council summoned by Henry, was stabbed with six poniards at once, by Loignac and his associates, and some historians assert that this assassination was not unknown to Henry. The king, the moment he was

informed of the fate of the duke, passed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a king, madam, and have no competitor, for the Duke of Guise is no more." Catharine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly asked, whether he had considered the consequences.

Catharine had been for some time confined to her bed by a severe indisposition. Accustomed to the supreme direction of affairs, her haughty temper could ill brook the reserve that for some time the king had maintained towards her. The pangs of disease were rendered more intolerable by the agitation of her mind. As her end approached, her eyes were opened to a just sense of the insidious policy which she had so long and so fatally pursued. In her last moments she exhorted Henry to restore the tranquillity of France, by allowing the free exercise of the Protestant religion. In her seventieth year Catharine of Medicis sunk into her grave, and escaped, by a timely death, beholding the destruction of her son. The king was soon convinced how necessary it was for him to adopt the dying counsel of Catharine. All zealous Catholics were armed against him; the citizens of his capital rejected his authority, and chose the Duke of Aumale as their governor; the doctors of the Sorbonne openly absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and the council of the union, composed of forty members, assumed a sovereign power.

While Henry, forlorn and desponding, contemplated the gloomy and distracted prospect before him, a man of the name of James Clement, a Jacobin friar, and a native of Sens, procured, under false pretences, from the Count of Brienne, a passport, saying he had some important intelligence to communicate to the king in person. He was entertained by that officer at his house, who engaged to procure him an audience with Henry. The next morning he was accordingly introduced to the king, to whom he presented his letters; but while Henry was occupied in the perusal of them, Clement suddenly plunged a knife into his body. The

wounded monarch instantly drew it out, and twice struck with it the assassin. The attorney-general, who was near, with a blow of his sword extended him on the floor, and the imprudent zeal of two of the royal guards immediately dispatched him.

Henry survived till the following morning, and then expired in the sixteenth year of his reign and thirty-ninth of his age. In him was extinguished the House of Angouleme.

His widow, Louisa of Lorraine, retired to a convent, where she spent the last twelve years of her life in religious obscurity.

HENRY THE FOURTH.

A. D. 1589.] By the death of Henry the Third the sceptre of France was transferred from the family of Angouleme to that of Bourbon, and placed in the hands of Henry the Fourth, the first monarch of that family. The religious commotions which so long had agitated France, had afflicted also a great part of Europe. The prudence of Elizabeth had, indeed, secured the internal tranquillity of England; but the tempest had raged with redoubled violence in Scotland. The amiable, but unfortunate Mary, who had sought shelter in Britain from the fury of a rude, haughty and turbulent people, inflamed with sanguinary zeal for the doctrines of Calvin had, after the farce of a public trial, perished on the scaffold, the victim of the jealousy of Elizabeth.

To avenge her death, the King of Spain filled his ports with naval preparations; but his fleet, which, from the size of his ships, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, obtained the name of the *Invincible Armada*, was defeated by the lighter

vessels and superior dexterity of the English; and the remnant of an armament, on which the treasures of the Indies and America had been profusely lavished, shattered by the winds and waves, and pursued by the triumphant navy of Elizabeth, escaped with difficulty into the ports of Spain.

To the vast continent of America, discovered by the daring genius of Columbus, and reduced to subjection by the arms of Cortez and Pizarro, Philip had some time since added the dominions of Portugal. The Portuguese had first, of all the Europeans, despised the narrow and beaten track of navigation. They boldly committed themselves to the wide expanse of ocean, established their colonies on the coast of Africa, founded new cities in Asia, and planted Brazil, in South America, a valuable settlement, of which they still retain possession.

Such was the state of affairs, when the stroke of assassination dismissed Henry the Third from a turbulent and ignominious reign. His successor, Henry the Fourth—who had completed his thirty-sixth year, and was adorned equally with every splendid quality both of mind and body; eloquent in council, intrepid in action, fertile in resources; a great general, an undaunted soldier, and a penetrating statesman—beheld in a moment a prospect presented to his view, which, as it might kindle the ambition of the coldest, was sufficient to damp the ardor of the most aspiring spirit.

The crown of France, his right by descent, was the object of his hopes; but innumerable objects still opposed the peaceable possession of it. He was, indeed, at the head of a considerable army, but the greatest part of his hopes, as well as of his subjects, consisted of Calvinists. His capital was in the hands of a faction, formidable by their numbers, and daring in their designs. Henry beheld with anxiety the assembly of the states, and dreaded the intrigues of the Duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the Catholics were confirmed by a series of long and bloody hostilities. Those who hitherto acted with him, had been deluded by the hopes of his

conversion. Their patience was now exhausted, and they publicly suggested the necessity of transferring their allegiance to the Cardinal of Bourbon, the cousin of the king. Desirous of delivering his people from the calamities of war, the humanity of Henry cooperated with his ambition. Even the most distinguished of the Protestant leaders, and his favorite Rosny, afterwards better known by the title of the Duke of Sully, exhorted him to consult the happiness of his subjects, and to relinquish a faith which he could maintain only amidst scenes of blood and devastation.

In consequence of this advice, Henry invited the Catholic divines throughout his kingdom to come and instruct him in their religion; and after being present at several conferences, he professed himself satisfied with their arguments, heard mass at St. Denis, read aloud his confession of the Catholic faith, and declared his resolution constantly to maintain and defend it. The king now determined to embrace the moment of returning prosperity to celebrate his coronation. Rheims was still in the hands of his enemies, and Chartres was preferred for that important ceremony. It was performed by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of that city. It was scarcely accomplished before a new event engrossed the attention of Henry; and while it dissipated the visionary projects of his adversaries, seemed firmly to fix the crown on his head. Philip had now possession of part of Henry's territories, but on hearing of his conversion, relinquished at once his claim and did homage to the king as a vassal: while Henry and his troops marched into Paris amid the acclamations of the people. Villars, who had defended Rouen with distinguished skill and courage, soon opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth. The daily return of his subjects to their allegiance inspired Henry with more vigorous counsels. While his allies pursued their joint preparations with diligence, the enemies of Henry resolved to assail the life of that monarch. As the king, in his apartments of the Louvre, stooped to embrace a nobleman that was presented to him, he received a stroke from a knife that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth. The composure

of Henry dispelled the consternation of his friends. The assassin was immediately discovered and seized. He proved to be a scholar of the College of Jesuits, to the influence of whose doctrines Henry attributed his atrocious attempt. The assassin was executed, and the whole order of Jesuits were commanded to leave the kingdom, on penalty of death. Some years previous Henry had formed a political union with Margaret, sister to Charles the Ninth and Henry the Third—a princess who united all the virtues and vices of the family of Valois, whence she sprung. Her beauty and genius were celebrated by all the poets of her time. She sung and played on the lute with exquisite skill; and in dancing no lady of the court was her equal. While Margaret stretched her dominion over the multitude that admired and adored her, she had never been able to touch the heart of Henry, on whom, indeed, at the command of her brother Charles, she had bestowed her hand with extreme reluctance. Henry now proposed a dissolution of the marriage bonds, which Margaret would have readily assented to, but for the fear that the Duchess of Beaufort, to whom Henry had been paying unlimited homage, would be raised to the throne.

The passion of the king would probably have triumphed over all opposition, and have placed the crown on the head of the duchess, when his fame was preserved from this degrading instance of weakness by an event as decisive as it was unexpected. While the Duchess of Beaufort, in the vigor of health and pride of beauty, feasted her imagination with the grandeur of royalty, the visionary prospect was dissolved by the hand of death. She was suddenly seized with convulsions, and expired—a spectacle too horrid for description. Henry, having repudiated his first wife Margaret, in order to marry the beautiful Duchess of Beaufort, felt severely the loss of her on whom he had set his affections; but his ministers, anxious for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him a permission to negotiate an union with Mary de Medicis, niece to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He accordingly hastened to Lyons to receive the hand of Mary,

where the ceremony was performed with great pomp. At this time a conspiracy was discovered, the leaders of which were Mareschal Biron and the Duke of Bouillon. They were, with many others of the nobles of France, in the most secret negotiations with Spain and Savoy. Had they succeeded, they would have overturned the government of France. These noblemen were arrested, tried, and conveyed to the Bastile to prepare for death. In the court of that prison they were beheaded in the presence of the judges, and many nobles attached to the king.

Henry was now making preparations to lead an army to the support of his German allies, and to vindicate, with his forces and treasures, their pretensions to the Duchies of Cleves and Juliers. But while he meditated enterprises the most important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravallac, a native of Angouleme. From that province the unhappy wretch had directed his steps to the capital, where he conceived the dark and desperate design of mingling the miseries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand against the sovereign of France. The king had proposed a visit to the arsenal, and in a narrow street through which they had to pass, the carriage was stopped by accident by two carts. At this instant, as the king turned to speak to the Duke of Epernon, he received a stroke from a knife. He had scarcely time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a second stroke more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep sigh, he sunk back a lifeless corpse.

Thus perished, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign, Henry the Fourth, whose virtues and talents have justly entitled him to the honorable distinction of *Great*. He left three sons by Mary de Medicis. The eldest, Louis the Thirteenth, succeeded him to the throne, and the two younger, the Dukes of Orleans and Anjou, were infants.

LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH.

A. D. 1610.] With the life of Henry the Fourth were extinguished the great designs that he had premeditated against the house of Austria; and France beheld, with grief and terror, the sceptre pass from his vigorous grasp to the feeble hand of an infant.

Mary de Medicis, the queen of Henry, amidst the dismay of the court, wasted not the important moment in unavailing sorrow; and the affliction, *if any*, that she felt on the loss of the king, was swallowed up by the more interesting care of obtaining the regency. Her ambition was gratified by the ready acquiescence of the parliament; and in her person were united the administration of the kingdom and the guardianship of her son.

The first moments had been employed in the acquisition of power; the next were devoted to revenge. The wretch, Ravail-lac, whose guilty hand had caused the untimely death of Henry, was brought from his cell, to perish by the most exquisite torments. His bones were broken by the arm of the executioner; his flesh was torn by hot pincers; scalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, still sensible, was delivered to be dismembered by four horses. The stubborn frame resisted their utmost efforts. The indignant multitude, whose thirst for vengeance could no longer be restrained, rushed through the guards, and in an instant put an end to his misery by tearing him in pieces. On the intelligence of the death of Henry, the Prince of Conde quitted his retreat in Spain, and hastened to urge his pretensions to the regency as first prince of the blood. A splendid palace, a considerable sum of money, and a pension

adequate to his dignity, were temptations that his necessities allowed him not to resist. The former ministers of the crown, who had served with fidelity, and who were recommended by their experience, were received with coldness, and listened to with evident disapprobation. The queen abandoned herself, without reserve, to her fond partiality for her Italian adherents. Conchini, a native of that country and of obscure extraction, had increased his influence by a marriage with Leonora Galigni, the favorite of the regent, and their united counsels ruled France with absolute sway. Louis now being declared of age, concluded a marriage with Anna, the Infanta of Spain. The ceremony was performed at Bourdeaux.

The queen, though no longer legally invested with the authority of regent, still appeared to maintain her influence over her feeble son, and was herself devoted to the will of the Mareschal de Ancre, her Italian friend, and his consort.

While the Mareschal of Ancre, elated at the prospect before him, gave loose to a temper naturally rash and vindictive, his capricious jealousies and unbridled arrogance precipitated on his own head the ruin that he meditated against his enemies.

He had placed about the person of the young king a gentleman of the name of Luines, who insinuated himself into the favor and confidence of Louis by his unwearied assiduities and by the ardor with which he planned and partook of his childish amusements. But while the thoughts and hours of this new favorite seemed occupied by sports and pleasures the most frivolous, he in private nourished an ambition above his rank and station. The mareschal had repulsed, with contempt, his offer of alliance by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not insensible of the suspicious disposition of the Florentine, determined to provide for his own safety, by the destruction of a man whom from that moment he secretly considered as his implacable enemy. In the unguarded hours of familiarity, he impressed Louis with a lively dread of the dangerous designs of the aspiring Italian. He represented to him that his father, Henry

the Fourth, had ever regarded with peculiar aversion the influence of the mareschal over the mind of the queen; that he had only been prevented by the tears of his consort, from compelling them to repass the Alps. Louis listened attentively to the repeated suggestions of Luines, and at length imparted his resolution to achieve his own deliverance, and to extinguish the torch of civil commotion by the death of the mareschal. With the concurrence of Louis, Luines obtained the assistance of Vitri and his brother Hillier, both captains of the guards, to execute the will of the sovereign. Accordingly the following morning the mareschal was murdered as he was passing through the Louvre on a visit to his sovereign. The queen, on the destruction of her favorite, retired to Blois; and the power which had been placed in the hands of Ancre was now transferred to Luines, and the dignity of mareschal conferred on Vitri, his brother. Hillier was raised to the vacant post of captain of the guards; and the Bishop of Lucon was compelled to resign the seals of secretary of state, which he had so lately received.

The reign of Louis the Thirteenth may be said to be pacific so far as regards foreign powers, but the jealousy and intrigue of his ministers and pretended friends kept his mind in a perpetual broil.

The king now suffering from severe indisposition, his enemies, encouraged by the queen-mother, resumed their hopes and infamy; but when the physicians had even pronounced the recovery of Louis impossible, a sudden and favorable turn in his disorder confounded his foes, and permitted him to arrest and disgrace the most active of his enemies; and Mary de Medicis herself was compelled to submit to a feigned reconciliation with the haughty statesman whose influence over the mind of her son had overwhelmed his regard and even his respect for his parent.

The king, at the instance and persuasion of his favorite and adviser, had now determined to order into exile his mother, Mary de Medicis, the Duke of Orleans, his brother, and several of their adherents. Mary escaped to Flanders from the stern justice of

her son, and the inexorable resentment of his minister ; the Duke of Orleans sought shelter from the storm in the court of Lorraine ; and abandoning himself to his natural levity, married Margaret, the sister of that prince. The pride of the King of France was wounded by the presumption of the Duke of Lorraine, in affording shelter to, and contracting an alliance with, his fugitive brother. Twice he invaded the territories of that prince, and twice compelled him to sue for peace on the most humiliating terms.

Amidst these alarms the Duke of Orleans had left a court which could no longer afford him security, and had retired to his mother Mary de Medicis, in Flanders. Cardinal Richelieu, also, had long been a favorite of Louis, and very worthily so, for on his deathbed he protested to the king, that his councils had ever been directed to the honor of the crown and the welfare of the kingdom ; and he terminated his splendid career with a fortitude and serenity that astonished those who had beheld the sanguinary effects of his administration.

But the success of his arms could not check the progress of disease ; and Louis was sensible that the inevitable moment was rapidly approaching when his reign and his life must terminate together.

The tender years of his children exposed the kingdom once more to those dissensions which had lately been so happily extinguished ; and anxious for the welfare of his children and people, he diligently resolved in what hands to place the reins of government.

Anne of Austria, his second wife, and mother of his two sons, had never partaken of his confidence ; and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, had forfeited his esteem by his levity, and incurred his enmity by his seditious intrigues. The queen, indeed, was appointed sole regent, with the care of her children ; but the Duke of Orleans was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom.

The queen and the Duke of Orleans swore solemnly to preserve inviolate the deed which they had subscribed ; and Louis,

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to render it still more authentic, commanded it to be registered in parliament. Louis died in the forty-second year of his age and thirty-third of his reign. The personal courage of Louis the Thirteenth, which shone forth with superior lustre, was frequently impeached by his severity, and sometimes by his cruelty.

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

A. D. 1643.] The will of Louis the Thirteenth, during his life, had been continually opposed, and after his death it was openly violated. His resolution of establishing a council of regency was instantly rejected; and his widow, Anne of Austria, by an *arrêt* in the Parliament of Paris, was invested with unlimited powers. She soon resigned herself to the influence of Cardinal Mazarin, a native of the little town of Piscina, in the Albruzzo. His political knowledge and address had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu, and he now acquired that ascendancy over the mind of his royal mistress which Richelieu had maintained over her deceased consort.

Louis the Fourteenth, the lustre of whose reign afterwards attached to his name the envied appellation of *Great*, had not yet completed his fifth year, and the kingdom was involved in a war with the house of Austria. But the situation of Europe was favorable to the designs of France. The kingdom of Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and established the Duke of Braganza, as John the Fourth, on the throne—the Catalans still displayed the banner of revolt—the united provinces had been cherished and protected by Henry the Fourth and Louis the

Thirteenth—the sceptre of Sweden was in the hands of Christina, the celebrated, but eccentric daughter of the great Gustavus, and her generals still maintained in war the glory of their country—while, in England, Charles the First, inheriting from his father his fatal and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, had already kindled the flame of civil war throughout that island.

Louis of Bourbon, Duke of Enguin, son of the Prince of Condé, had been appointed to the command of the French forces on the frontiers of Flanders, previous to the death of Louis the Thirteenth. On intelligence of that event, he determined to attack the army of Spain, engaged in the siege of Rocroi. The remonstrances of Mareschal de l'Hospital were overborne by his ardor; and in the execution of his design, the fire of youth was united with skill and judgment scarcely to be found in age. Soon after this the Prince of Condé retired from a capital disgusted by his violent and haughty demeanor.

The parliament declared the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and the king, by a sudden turn of popular favor, beheld himself firmly seated on his throne. Preparations now commenced for the marriage of the king, and Louis repaired to Saint Jean de Luz to receive the hand of his bride. The royal pair returned to Paris amid the acclamations of the people. The Duke of Orleans was suddenly seized at Blois with a disease that ended his life in a few days. His death was but little noticed, and not at all regretted by his nephew.

Louis, with an army of forty thousand men, directed by Turenne, burst into the defenceless provinces of Flanders. The towns, without magazines, without fortifications, and without garrisons, surrendered to Louis as soon as he presented himself before them. The banners of France were in an instant displayed from the walls of Athe, Tournay, Audenarde, Courtrai and Binche. Lisle alone maintained a resistance of nine days, and the king returned to Paris from a campaign, attended by the most important acquisitions, but which, in its progress, rather resembled a party of pleasure than an hostile expedition.

To diminish the numbers of his enemies, the King of France opened a negotiation with the Duke of Savoy; and Amadeus was easily induced to prefer his interest to the faith he had pledged his allies. The domestic misery of Louis had for many years kept pace with the public calamities. That court, the splendor and magnificent entertainments of which had excited the envy and admiration of Europe, had long been impressed with a deep and settled gloom. Louis was afflicted for many years with a cancerous tumor on his back, and although it had been removed, still it threatened to be the means of his dissolution. During this affliction he was doomed to experience the severest pangs of domestic calamity. The death of his eldest son, also of his grandson and his wife, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and of their eldest son, which left, as heir-apparent to the throne of France, their second son Louis, an infant great grandson to the monarch, happened within the short space of ten months, and thus were four of the reigning family of France consigned to an early tomb. The character of Louis the Fourteenth, whose long and varied reign was alternately the glory and misfortune of his people, has exercised the ingenuity of the most celebrated historians. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air; the dignity of his behavior was tempered with the highest affability and politeness: elegant without being effeminate, addicted to pleasure without neglecting business, he was beloved in the midst of arbitrary power. But his qualities seemed those rather that attract a momentary regard, than those that command a permanent esteem! A purer praise attends the care with which he fostered the arts and sciences. Though his own acquisitions in literature were few and limited, yet he patronized the learned with a liberal hand; and the painter, the sculptor, and the architect, were woken into life by the genial ray of his bounty.

LOUIS THE FIFTEENTH.

A. D. 1715.] Louis the Fifteenth was in the fifth year of his age when his great grandfather died. By a will of the late monarch, the Duke of Orleans, grandson to Henry the Fourth, was appointed sole regent. The early measures of his administration afforded to the people most favorable impressions of his judgment, his equity and moderation. His gratitude restored to the parliament the right of remonstrating against the edicts of the crown. He compelled those who, during the late reign, had fattened on the miseries of the people, to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth; he re-peopled the cities that had been deserted, and the lands that had been laid waste by the ravages of war; he promoted commerce, rewarded agriculture, and dispelled the jealousy that Europe had entertained of the turbulent disposition of France, by a close alliance with Great Britain. The regent elevated to the post of prime minister Cardinal Dubois, a man who, though descended from an obscure apothecary in a remote province, had acquired the first dignities of the church, and the most eminent situation in the state. The king had by this time attained that age which was fixed for his majority—the regency of course expired—and the Duke of Orleans assumed the title of minister. But his own life drew near its end—his constitution was shaken by excess—and his intemperate passions allowing him not to follow that regimen prescribed by his physicians, gave his disease greater power. On the death of the Duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed to the hands of the Duke of Bourbon Condé. A king young, indolent, and uninstructed—a minister without talents or ambition—and a kingdom at peace—furnish but slender

materials for the pen of the historian. The late Duke of Orleans had engaged the hand of the King of France to the Infanta of Spain: but though that princess had been received at Paris with the honors of a queen, Louis was not disposed to consummate the marriage. The people, impatient for a union which might realize their hopes of male issue, and not expose the kingdom, by a disputed succession, to the calamities of war, loudly murmured against the Duke of Bourbon. The minister, though reluctantly, yielded to the general voice. He sent back the Infanta; and the Queen of Spain, daring, violent and implacable, would probably have resented the insult by open hostilities, had not her turbulent disposition already engaged her in a dispute with the empire. This was the only political event that characterized the short and languid administration of the Duke of Bourbon Condé. The reins of government soon dropped from his hands into those of Cardinal Fleury. At the age of seventy-three he retired to the monastery of Bearn, and assumed the habit of a monk.

The disputes of Spain and England respecting the trade of America, only feebly interrupted the tranquillity of Europe, and Cardinal Fleury still pursued in France that pacific system to which he was so strongly attached. Instead of arming the neighboring potentates against each other, he incessantly labored to extinguish their jealousies, and reconcile their hostile dispositions. He conciliated for a moment the Genoese and Corsicans, who had already plunged themselves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte, which desisted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and, at his powerful intercession, granted peace to the distressed emperor. Europe now appeared to be settling down into a peace, which fortunately lasted seven years, and which may be considered as the most prosperous and happy period ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; and the manners of society assumed daily a higher polish. But monarchs, while they aspire to the fame of

conquerors, seldom condescend to regard the felicity of their subjects; and Louis, who had only consented to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to restore his navy, in the arms of the Marchioness of Pompadour meditated new wars; and he prepared to dispossess the English of their principal settlements both in America and in the East Indies. Though George the Second, as King of Great Britain, while he retained the sovereignty of the seas, might despise the menaces of France, yet, as Elector of Hanover, he was still vulnerable in his German dominions; and Louis, to avail himself of this advantage, entered into close and secret connections with the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden. Devoted to sensuality and voluptuousness, the hours of Louis seemed to glide in constant enjoyment. The Chancellor de Maupeou took care that all money edicts were registered; and the inventive spirit of finance, by oppressing the people, liberally supplied the profusion of the court.

But in the moment of satiety, the mind of Louis still appeared oppressed with melancholy. The sudden death of the Marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his sensual excesses, strongly affected him; and the subsequent fate of Mareschal d'Armentières, who expired in a similar manner, and who was nearly of the same age as the monarch, increased his gloomy sensations. The symptoms of the small-pox already appeared on the king, and by the advice of his physicians he was hastily removed from Trianon to Versailles. The danger hourly increased, and Louis, apprised of the nature of his disorder, found, with the approach of death, the sense of religion return. He desired that the Countess du Barre, who had officially attended him, might be removed. He received the sacrament, and declared his intention, ever after, to be fixed in the maintenance of true religion, that he might atone to Heaven for a life of wickedness. But he was not permitted to evince the sincerity of these declarations. The ignorance of his physicians cooperated with the virulence of the disease; and eight days after the first attack, that monarch closed a reign

of fifty-nine, and a life of sixty-four years. Louis left behind him, by his wife Maria Josepha of Saxony, three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, the Duke de Berri, died eight years before his father, leaving one son, the dauphin, afterward Louis the Sixteenth.

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

A. D. 1774.] Louis the Sixteenth was twenty years of age on his accession to the throne. His education had been entrusted to the Duke de la Vauguyon, a nobleman of rigid and ascetic piety. This man bred up the future heir to the throne of France as if he were destined to be a monk; and took care to render him not only scrupulously ignorant of all polite learning, but even of history and the science of government.

The very external appearance of Louis betrayed this tutelage. He was slovenly, melancholy, ungraceful, bashful, and so diffident, that his eyes often shrunk from the regard of his meanest subject. Such was the character of the new sovereign, called to administer the realm at the most critical period of its history. The first important step was the choice of a minister. The Duke d'Aiguillon, as the ally of Du Barry, was of course set aside; and the Count de Maurepas was appointed in his stead.

The whole policy of the new government seemed to be that of conciliating public opinion; but, unfortunately, this opinion was not sufficiently uniform and enlightened to lead the monarch into the path of his own and the nation's safety.

One more appointment was necessary to stamp the royal mind

free from prejudice and open to the impression of merit. Monsieur Turgot, though possessed of integrity and industry, had not been able to command the public confidence. On his retreat, Monsieur Clugny, intendant-general of Bourdeaux, had been elevated to the vacant post; on his death, which happened soon after, M. Taboreaux des Reaux was appointed his successor; and Louis soon after associated with him, in the management of the finances, Monsieur Necker, by birth a Swiss, and by religion a Protestant. This gentleman, in the preceding reign, had been chosen to adjust some differences between the East India Company and the crown, and had discharged his trust with such rare discretion as to challenge the approbation of both parties. Possessed of distinguished and acknowledged probity, his appointment would have excited no surprise, had it not been contrary to the constant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the control of her revenue.

Louis, perceiving a growing discontent among his subjects, was anxious to allay it by every concession in his power consistent with his dignity; but it was generally believed that his royal consort strongly dissuaded him from any step that might tend to the diminution of the regal authority. The influence of the queen in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which once accompanied her was no more; and some imputations of private levity, which had been rumored through the capital, were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the Count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expressed himself in the most unguarded terms against the perseverance of the parliament, stood exposed to all the hatred of a lively and insulted people. It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty once more burst forth; the provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital. Among various instances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against *lettres de cachet*, the most odious engine of arbitrary power, and declared the execution of them, within their jurisdiction, by any person and under any authority, to be a capital crime. Louis, now being accused of

having committed a multitude of crimes to establish his tyranny, and to destroy the freedom of the empire, the parliament decided on impeaching him and bringing him to trial. Accordingly a long list of accusations was made out, and after a tedious, and what might well be termed a mock trial, he was found guilty.

A question then arose as to the period of execution, and the votes were taken to decide upon the proposed delay, the members being allowed to deliver their opinions only by *yes* or *no*. The president then declared, that of the six hundred and ninety members, three hundred and eighty voted for having the sentence carried into execution without delay, and three hundred and ten for postponement. Whereupon Cambaceres rose and said, "Citizens, by pronouncing the sentence of death against the King of the French, you have done an act which will not pass away like the meteors of false glory. Inflexible in justice, and more indulgent to tyranny than its crimes and intrigues, its falsehood and hypocrisy are entitled to; unmoved by the storms that burst abroad, and the muttering vengeance that prowls at home, the spirit of regenerated France has inspired you to establish your own liberty by a decision that will be recorded by the graver of immortality in the annals of history. Public safety prescribed to you that awful decree. It is passed in the name of justice. In the name of humanity I stand up, to call your attention to the person who is the object of it. Let us afford him every possible consolation; and let us take proper measures to prevent the execution of the national will from being sullied by any irregularity. I move, therefore, that—

"1. The executive council be immediately summoned, and that a copy of the decree which pronounces sentence of death on Louis, be delivered to it.

"2. The executive council be charged to notify this decree to Louis in the course of the day; and to cause it to be executed in twenty-four hours after it is delivered to it.

"3. The Mayor and municipal officers of Paris be enjoined to suffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to

have with him such priests as he may desire in his last moments."

On the evening of Sunday, after having passed the day in preparations for his approaching end, his family, from whom he had been separated since his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the sad indulgence of a last interview, unmolested by the presence of his guards. Alas! when imagination pictures the anguish of such an interview, it is not necessary to look back on the former elevation of the sufferer, in order to pity the gloomy transition in his fate. It is not necessary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to suffer death upon the scaffold, was once the first monarch of Europe; and would be led to execution through the streets of his own capital! It is enough to consider this unfortunate person as a man, a husband, a father! That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the king, the queen, and his sister. The princess, his daughter, had attained that age when, perhaps, the soul is most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility most exquisite. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, caught the infectious sorrow. The king had sufficient firmness to avoid seeing his family on the morning of his execution. He desired that the queen might be told that he was unable to bear the sight of her and his children in those last moments.

He took a ring off of his finger, which contained some of his own hair, some of the queen's and of his two children, and desired it might be given to the queen. He called the municipal officers round him, and told them it was his dying request, that Clery, his *valet-de-chambre*, might remain with his son. He then said to Santerre, "*Marchons;*" and after crossing, with a hurried pace, the inner court of the Temple, got into the mayor's carriage, which was in waiting. He was attended by his confessor, an Irish clergyman of the name of Edgeworth, and appeared to have derived from his pious consolations a considerable degree of calmness and fortitude; but besides the soothing support of religion, he is said to have cherished the hope, to his last moment,

that the people, whom he meant to address from the scaffold, would demand that his life should be spared ; and his confessor has been said, from mistaken notions of compassion, to have not discouraged the hope. After ascending the scaffold with firm step, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to speak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard, by ordering the drums to beat.

Alas ! those who sympathized in his agonies had carefully shunned the fatal spot, and those who surrounded him were steelled by the passions of the day against commiseration. Santerre called to the executioner to do his office. Then it was that despair seized upon the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance assumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, "*Je suis perdu ! Je suis perdu !*" ("I am undone ! I am undone !")

His confessor meantime called to him from the foot of the scaffold, "*Louis, fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel !*" ("Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven,") and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality. The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried "*Vive la Republique !*"

The hair was sold in separate tresses at the foot of the scaffold, and, as if every incident of this tragedy had been intended to display the strange vicissitudes of human fortune, as if every scene was meant "to point a moral," the body was conveyed in a cart to the parish of St. Madelaine, and laid among the bodies of those who had been crushed to death on the Place de Louis 15th, when Louis the Sixteenth was married, and of those who had fallen before the chateau of the Tuileries on the tenth of August. The grave was filled with quicklime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully leveled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot, to which, shrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight, ancient royalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit.

Thus fell Louis the Sixteenth from the loftiest summit of external grandeur to the lowest and last stage of human misfortune and ignominy.

The next victim of popular resentment which fell at this exciting period, was General Custine, whose former services merited every respectful regard. He became a victim to the boundless effects of jealousy and conspiracy. The charges against him were: That he had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemy—that he had insulted the national representation by visiting and corresponding with the family of the late king; and many others equally false. Custine, on his trial, affirmed that every charge against him (with the exception of that of his having visited the afflicted family of his late sovereign), was false, and founded only on the base villany of his enemies. However, the unfortunate general was led to the scaffold, asserting his innocence, and praying for the happiness of his afflicted country to the last moments of his life.

The trial of the queen immediately followed that of Custine. It was provoked at this time by a plan that had been laid to carry her off by force from the Temple, during the first tumult that should occur; and by the discovery that a number of strangers had recently arrived at Paris, suspected to be for that purpose. This, no doubt, exasperated her enemies, and made them more determined that she should lose her life. Accordingly, a little before midnight, two municipal officers repaired to the tower of the Temple, and announced the decree, which ordered her removal to the Conciergerie, a dungeon considered more secure. She was in bed. "Must I arise?" she asked. The officers replied in the affirmative. She then desired them to withdraw, that she might dress herself, and they did so. When dressed, they notified their orders to search her. She delivered to them twenty-five Louis-d'ors, and a pocket book, but used repeated entreaties to be suffered to keep the book, or for them to seal it up and take a protocol of its contents. She then desired to take some clothes. Permission being given, she tied up in a bundle some linen, caps,

and a black silk jacket. She then desired to have an interview with her daughter and Madame Elizabeth. This was permitted, after some hesitation. Madame Elizabeth stepped first into the apartment. Melting in tears, bordering on distraction, and almost deprived of her senses, she fell into the arms of the queen.

Her majesty preserved the most unshaken fortitude in this trying scene. When her daughter appeared, she said, "My daughter, in every situation of life have recourse to thy blessed religion! and at this trying moment let thine innocent prayers ascend to the holy tribunal for the heavy and unmerited afflictions of thy wretched mother!" The queen then desired to see her son, but her demand was refused. The officers, however, told her, "Your son is innocent; he will not be hurt."

She then took the parcel containing the few clothes she had collected, under her arm, descended the stairs, and found a hackney coach waiting for her in the court yard. The queen was dressed in white, and wore a black girdle. She was conducted to the prison through a narrow passage, very badly lighted, in which the sudden barking of two mastiffs threw her into convulsions. The officers were then obliged to carry her to the prison in their arms; and being arrived there, she continued so very ill, that for one hour her life was despaired of. She recovered, however, by the following morning. The queen was confined in the prison of the Conciergerie from August till October, during which interval her enemies were most assiduous in forming their unwarrantable charges, and producing those *fiends* who, for the sake of money, were willing to confirm the same by the most solemn oaths.

The following charges were preferred against the queen:

1. It is proved, beyond all doubt, that there existed machinations and private intelligences with powerful foreign states, tending to furnish succors in money, and to give them ingress into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of their arms.

2. Marie Antoinette is convicted of having cooperated with those machinations, and of having entertained those intelligences.

3. It is proved that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic.

4. Marie Antoinette is convicted of having had a share in that plot and conspiracy.

In October, Marie Antoinette was brought to trial, and with all the above infamous charges declared to have been proved against her, found guilty. The queen, during the whole of this vile and iniquitous proceeding, preserved a calm and steady countenance. The president then rose, and pronounced the following sentence:

“The tribunal, after the unanimous declaration of the jury in conformity to the laws cited, condemns the said Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, to the penalty of death—her goods to be confiscated for the benefit of the republic—and it orders that this sentence be executed in the *Place de Revolution*.”

The queen, during the reading of the sentence, did not show the smallest alteration in her countenance, and left the hall without uttering a word. It was then half-past four o'clock in the morning, and at twelve of the same day she forfeited her life in order to satisfy a lawless rabble. At half-past eleven Marie Antoinette was brought out of the prison, dressed in a white dishabille. Like the vile malefactor, she was conducted to the place of execution. Her hair from behind was entirely cut off, and her hands were tied behind her back. She wore a very small white cap.

An immense number of people crowded the streets, crying “*Vive la Republique*.” Her eyes, though bent on vacancy, did not conceal the emotion that was laboring at her heart. Her cheeks were sometimes streaked with red, and sometimes overspread with deadly paleness; but her general look was that of indignant sorrow. She ascended the scaffold with precipitation, and her head was in a moment held up to the people by the executioner.

Louis the Sixteenth was, at the period of his execution, in the

thirty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of an unhappy reign. He left behind him, by Marie Antoinette of Austria, two children: Louis, Charles the Dauphin, and one daughter.

If Providence had designed Louis the Sixteenth for a martyr, it could not have bestowed a character more apt or perfect to sustain that trying part. Long will it be ere the deep stain left on the cause of liberty by the pure and guiltless blood of the royal victim, shall be utterly effaced!

LOUIS THE SEVENTEENTH.

A. D. 1793.] Louis the Seventeenth, second son of Louis the Sixteenth and of Marie Antoinette, was born at Versailles, 1785, and in 1789, at the death of his elder brother, received the title of Dauphin. He was four years old when his mother presented him to the enraged populace of Paris, and carried him to the capital on the terrible 5th and 6th of October. During his confinement with his parents and Madame Elizabeth in the temple, his innocent gayety and sweet disposition were the only solace of the afflicted family. On the death of his father the royalists proclaimed the dauphin king, and his uncle (since Louis the Eighteenth), assumed the title of regent. In 1793 he was separated from his mother, sister and aunt, and delivered to a shoemaker of the name of Simon, a fierce Jacobin, a man of low and vulgar cunning who, with his wife, treated the young Capet with the most unfeeling barbarity.

Reproaches, blows, scanty food, the damps and filth of a dun-

geon, and a sleep broken by abuse, were the lot of the innocent child.

He was even compelled to drink intoxicating liquors, and join in every act of revelry and dissipation, till his delicate constitution gave way. He died June 8th, 1798, at the age of ten years. He was buried in the common grave in the cemetery of Saint Margarite, where his remains could not be distinguished.

Several impostors have appeared, pretending to be the prince; among them Hervagant, a tailor's son, who died in prison, and Bruneau, a shoemaker, who was condemned to seven years' imprisonment.

NAPOLEON.

A. D. 1804.] The smoking embers of the Revolution, like a destructive tornado, had swept away everything in its fell career, when, from the mass of the people, rose the stupendous genius of war, who carved out his own fortune, and vaulted into the imperial throne. And who was this colossus of the age? A name pre-eminently illustrious in the opinion of the multitude, by some deemed terrible, but forever renowned, according to the judgment of all. A name borne by one, who advanced through multitudes—sometimes stormy, at others lulled in peace;—whose march was amidst a forest of bayonets, either raised in his defence, or directed against his heart—whose hand was accustomed to model thrones, and shake empires to their very basis. And this being was—NAPOLEON. From the revolution of the 13th Vendemiaire, 1795, when Napoleon played so conspicuous a part

under Barras, as, immediately after, to ensure the command of the army of Italy, down to the first abdication of the Emperor, in 1815, the eyes not only of Europe, but of the greatest portion of the habitable globe, were directed to the deeds of that extraordinary man. In the first Italian campaign, he acquired a renown sufficient to immortalize man; after which we behold him daring the burning sands of Egypt, and performing feats of arms, and regulating a system of government, arts and manufactures, that confer upon him the meed of everlasting fame. In succession follow the German war of 1805, terminated with the victory of Austerlitz; the Prussian contest of the ensuing year, as well as 1807, which closed with the affair of Freidland; the struggle in Spain of 1808; the second Austrian campaign of 1809, ending on the field of Wagram; the invasion of Russia, in 1812, where the elements alone proved Napoleon's conquerors; the Saxon campaign of 1813, ending at Dresden with the battle of Hanau; and, in conclusion, the eventful contests on the French and Belgian soils, in 1814 and 1815. Had less of belligerent operations employed Napoleon's mind; had he rather curbed the rein of vaulting ambition, and applied the energies of his genius to internal policy, trade, manufactures, and arts, he would still, in all human probability, have been the occupant of the throne, and established his dynasty on a basis never to be shaken.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. He received his education in the Royal Military College; he was appointed Lieutenant the 1st Sept., 1785; Captain, 7th Feb., 1792; Major, 19th of October, 1793; Commandant of Artillery at Toulon, in Dec. the same year; Brigadier, 6th Feb., 1795; Lieutenant-General of the Army of the Interior, 16th October, 1795; Field Marshal, the 26th of the same month; Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy, the 22d Feb., 1796, and was married in the same year to Josephine de la Plagerie, widow of Beauharnois: he sailed with the expedition to Egypt, the 19th May, 1798; arrived at Alexandria 1st July; embarked to return to France 22d August; was named First Consul

10th Jan., 1802; Consul for life, 10th August same year; and Emperor, 18th May, 1804. He was consecrated and crowned in Paris, by Pope Pius the 7th, the December following; proclaimed King of Italy the 17th March, 1805, and crowned at Milan, 28th May; he was proclaimed and acknowledged Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine 12th July, 1806; Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, 10th Sept., 1806; his marriage with Josephine declared null the 16th of December, 1809; and on the 2d April, 1810, he married Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria. Of this marriage there was born, on the 20th March, 1811, Napoleon Francisco Carlos Jose. Napoleon made his entry into Moscow the 14th Sept., 1812; this was the apogee of his glory, from which his adverse fortune and decadence began. All those nations which had already declared against him, made the greatest efforts to precipitate his ruin, and consummate his end. The allies entered Paris on the night of the 30th of March, 1814; he abdicated the 11th April; embarked for the Island of Elba the 20th of the same month; where he remained until February, 1815—in which month he embarked for France, and landed at Cannes, in the Gulf of St. John, 1st March; entered Paris the 20th day after his disembarkment; lost the battle of Waterloo 18th June, 1815; abdicated again the 22d of the same month; submitted himself to the protection of the English, and embarked in the *Bellerophon* 74, the 15th July ensuing, and was subsequently carried to the Island of St. Helena, where he arrived 13th October, and after a residence of six years, died the 5th May, 1821.

“ Alone he sleeps ! the mountain’s cloud,
That night hangs round him, and the breath
Of morning scatters, is the shroud
That wraps the conqueror’s clay in death.”

LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH.

A. D. 1814.] Stanislaus Xavier de France, second son of the Dauphin, the son of Louis the Fifteenth, and brother of Louis the Sixteenth, was born at Versailles, Nov. 15, 1755. On the breaking out of the Revolution, the Count of Provence, as he was then styled, fled from Paris to Coblenz, and took an active part in the organization of the system of emigration. The progress of the republican arms afterwards compelled him to abandon this asylum for Turin, where he was received by his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia; but subsequently again removed to Verona, under the title of the Count de Lille, which he retained till his accession to the French throne. In 1796 he joined the army of the Prince de Condé, then at Reigal, and two years afterwards was formally acknowledged King of France by the Emperor Paul, of Russia, at whose invitation he took up his residence for a while, in the ducal castle of Mittau in Courland. The versatility of his new ally, however, soon put an end to his continuance in this abode. He received peremptory orders to quit the Russian territories in a week, and took refuge at Warsaw, whence the King of Prussia, on his refusing to renounce his throne in favor of Bonaparte, compelled him to retire, as a last resource, to England.

There he was hospitably received, and remained during the great struggle at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, living in a very simple manner, occupying himself with the Roman classics—especially Horace, of whom he translated much, and retained in memory a large part—and partly in political studies. That he resembled in character his unfortunate brother, we know from

several examples of his kind feelings. Soon after the disastrous expedition of the French to Russia, he wrote to the Emperor Alexander a letter, recommending the French prisoners of war, as his children, to the magnanimity of that monarch, and he refused to join in the rejoicings in England, for he could not but mourn the death of so many Frenchmen.

Soon after a proclamation was published from Louis the Eighteenth to the French, dated Hartwell House, 1st Feb., 1814, which induced a party, first in Bourdeaux, and afterwards in Paris, to declare for the Bourbons. The king promised entire oblivion of the past, the support of the administrative and judicial authorities, the preservation of the new code, with the exception of those laws which interfered with religious doctrines; security to the new proprietors against legal processes; to the army, all its rights, titles and pay; to the senate the support of its political rights; the abolition of the conscription; and, for himself and his family, every sacrifice which could contribute to the tranquillity of France. The restoration of the Bourbons was a subject first brought strongly home to the French at the time of the entrance of the allies into Paris, by the declaration of the Emperor Alexander that they would neither treat with Napoleon nor with any member of his family. Talleyrand and De Pradt contributed not a little to this in an interview with Alexander, the King of Prussia, Schwartzemberg, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, and Lichtenstein, by the assurance that the restoration of the Bourbons was the wish of a large majority of the nation.

The senate now appointed a provisional government under the presidency of Talleyrand, and a law was passed for the deposition of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. On receiving this intimation Louis the Eighteenth left Hartwell and repaired to London, whence the Prince Regent accompanied him to Dover. From Dover the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William the Fourth) conducted him to Calais. Upon landing, where he met the Duchess d'Angoulême, he pressed her to his heart and said, "I hold again the crown of my ancestors; if it were of roses,

I would place it on your head; as it is of thorns, it is for me to wear it."

The memory of his landing upon French ground is perpetuated by a Doric column of marble erected at Calais, and the trace of his first footstep is carefully preserved in brass. Having reached Paris, the hopes of all now rested upon him.

When the chamber was occupied with fixing the civil list, Louis answered the deputies, "Let them attend to the state, and neglect me."

The king formed his cabinet from the old nobility of France. It could not be expected that men who had voted for the death of Louis the Sixteenth could now be peers of France. Louis had no sooner been seated on the throne of France than Napoleon made his appearance in Paris, having effected his escape from Elba. This was like a thunderstroke to the army and nation.

Louis and his family hastily fled from Paris, and reached Lille in safety; from which they were also obliged to retreat in a few days to Ghent.

In the meanwhile, the Chambers, convoked by Napoleon, had appointed an executive commission under the Presidency of Fouché, and deputies who were to negotiate with the allies upon the basis of their independent right to choose a form of government: but the allies would not consent to this. Blucher and Wellington besieged Paris, and Fouché, who had already induced Napoleon to leave France, put a stop to the shedding of blood by the capitulation of Paris, July 3d, 1815. Louis was thus again restored to the throne of France. On July 7th the Prussians and English entered Paris, and on the afternoon of the 9th, Louis followed under the protection of Wellington. The king immediately appointed his ministry with Talleyrand at its head.

He survived this second elevation nine years, dying in his sixty-ninth year in September, 1824.

For a considerable time previous to his decease, a dry erysipelas in his legs had deprived him of the power of walking; while his attachment to the pleasures of the table assisted a

natural tendency to corpulency, and aided materially to produce the disease which terminated in his dissolution.

As the restored monarch of France, Louis the Eighteenth acted with great temper and policy—at least on his second return to his capital, after the battle of Waterloo; for it required no mean degree of skill to render the intrusion of the foreign armies which made him King of France, palatable to the people over whom he was called to reign.

On the death of Louis, his brother, the Duke of Artois, afterward Charles the Tenth, was called to the throne. *

CHARLES THE TENTH.

A. D. 1824.] Charles the Tenth, youngest brother of Louis the Sixteenth, and Louis the Eighteenth, ascended the throne of France at the death of the latter, A. D. 1824.

Till 1795 he bore the title of *Count d'Artois*; till 1824 that of *Monsieur*. Charles was educated at the court of his eldest brother Louis the Sixteenth, and early manifested an amiable disposition, and a capacity for mental culture, together with a love for expensive pleasures. In 1782, the *Count d'Artois* served as a volunteer in the camp of St. Roche, before Gibraltar, and was created Chevalier of St. Louis.

In 1787, as president of a bureau of the notables, he pursued different views from his brothers, the king, and the Count of Provence. The people, believing that his opposition to the proposed reform would be a serious injury, manifested their ill will by an attack on his life. After this the duke took up his residence

at Brussels and Vienna. Louis the Sixteenth took the oath to maintain the constitution, and invited the French princes, who were then absent, to return to France; but they refused to obey, and protested against the new constitution—equally disobedient to their country and their king.

Hereupon the legislative assembly of the nation withdrew from the *Count d'Artois* the *appanage* of 1,000,000 francs, assigned him by the constitution, and referred his creditors to his estates. Being, by this decree, reduced to great distress, he solicited the assistance of the Empress Catharine, who received him at her court and temporarily relieved his wants. He sent his diamonds, and the sword which Louis the Sixteenth had given his son, to Marshal Broglio, to relieve, by the sale of them, his most pressing necessities. This being done, he retired to England and took up his residence at Edinburgh, in Scotland. During the three years he resided there, the English government gave him a pension, for the time he was obliged to remain in Great Britain, of fifteen thousand pounds sterling. In 1813, he returned to the continent to await the result of the entry of the allied armies into France.

After one year's residence abroad, he returned to Paris, and assumed the supreme authority till the arrival of Louis the Eighteenth. On the return of Louis to his kingdom he appointed Charles Colonel-general of the French National Guards, and of the Swiss. The following year, 1814, he accompanied the king to the Chamber of Deputies, and swore, "in the name of honor, fidelity to the king and charter." In 1818, he resigned the command of the National Guards. He was, moreover, the founder and distributor of the decoration of the lily. The parties, in particular, of the Ultra-royalists, and of the Ultra-montanists, seem to have attached themselves to him or to his friends, and during the last part of the reign of Louis the Eighteenth, he had an important influence on the course of public affairs, and the appointment of ministers.

On the day of his brother's death, whom he had not left for a moment during the last two days of his life, he was received

with the ancient and customary cry "*Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!*" The members of the royal family, the diplomatic corps, and the first civil authorities, rendered him their homage. The Duke of Angoulême now assumed, in conformity with ancient usage, the title of *Dauphin*; his wife was called *Dauphiness*; the Duchess de Berri, *Madame*. Charles the Tenth immediately conferred on the house of Orleans the title *Altesse Royale*. On September 27, 1824, Charles made his public entry into Paris on horseback, and in the month of May following, he was crowned at Rheims, where many ancient customs, and some ridiculous usages were revived. For instance, the vial containing the holy oil (which was said to have been brought in former ages by a dove from Heaven), was again restored. Charles the Tenth swore to govern according to the charter. The speech of Charles at the opening of the Chamber, a short time after the battle of Navarino, excited much sensation, because it was rather favorable to the Greeks. Prince Polignac, who, it is said, was a natural son of Charles, and had been ambassador in London, was recalled and made prime minister. This was displeasing to the French, and the sudden and inconsistent changes of the ministry which were continually taking place during Charles' reign, seemed to indicate that he was not possessed of talents for such a government.

The ministry of Polignac becoming very unpopular, and the king continually dissolving and again forming the Chamber of Deputies, he was advised peaceably to abdicate the throne. This he did in the year 1830, and retired for the last time to his former residence at Edinburgh, where, after six years passed in tranquillity and retirement, he died in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

LOUIS PHILIP.

A. D. 1830.] The line of Bourbon Orleans was founded by Philip, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, who conferred on him the Duchy of Orleans. Philip the Second, his son, was the well-known regent of France, whose grandson was Louis Philip, father to the present king. Louis bore at first the title of *Duke of Valois*, and, when his father became Duke of Orleans, that of *Duke of Chartres*.

At the age of five years, he was placed under the care of the Chevalier De Bonnard; but shortly after, his education was intrusted to the Countess De Genlis.

Louis was in his eighteenth year placed at the head of the 14th regiment of dragoons, in garrison at Vendôme. During his stay at that place he displayed great courage and presence of mind, by which he saved the life of a clergyman; also the life of an engineer from drowning. The city of Vendôme decreed to him, on account of these honorable actions, a civic crown. The following year he passed the winter with his regiment at Valenciennes, fulfilling the duties of the oldest colonel of the garrison. Shortly after he was appointed lieutenant-general, and ordered to take the command of Strasburg. "I am too young," said he, "to shut myself up in a town; I prefer an active life."

The following year he displayed great bravery and courage at the battle of Valmy; also at the celebrated battle of Jemappes he distinguished himself.

Louis was at Tournay when the convention passed a decree of banishment against all the members of the Bourbon family then in France. He was desirous that his father and all the

family should join him in emigrating to the United States, but his distance from Paris delayed the arrangements, and the decree was revoked before they were finished. The duke, who had manifested, with more frankness than prudence, his horror at the revolutionary excesses in France, saw a decree of arrest leveled against himself. He at once resolved to quit the country. He went to Mons, where he was kindly received by the Archduke Charles, who offered him a commission in the Austrian army. This he declined, and obtained passports for Switzerland. Having but a small sum of money, he crossed, as a fugitive, the same countries through which he had passed, a short time before, as a conqueror with the French army, and learned, from a newspaper, the arrest of all his family. At Schaffhausen he met his sister with Madame de Genlis and the Count Montjoye. General Montesquiou, who, having fallen under the accusation of the constitutional assembly, had taken refuge in Switzerland, and lived in retirement at Bremgarten, under the name of the Chevalier Rionel, took an interest in their situation, and succeeded in getting admission for M^{lle}. d'Orleans and Madame Genlis into a convent at Bremgarten. To the Duke of Chartres he could only say, that there was nothing for him to do but to wander in the mountains, until circumstances should become more favorable. Alone and on foot, almost without money, he began his travels in the interior of Switzerland and the Alps. Everywhere he was seen contending with courage against fatigue and poverty. But his resources were entirely exhausted, and being recalled to Bremgarten by a letter from Montesquiou, he obtained the situation of professor at the college of Richenau. He was examined by the officers of this institution under a feigned name, and unanimously admitted. Here he taught geography, history, the French and English languages, and mathematics, for eight months, without having been discovered.

The simplicity of his manners prevented any suspicion being entertained of his rank, while his amiable conduct gained the esteem of the government, and gratitude of his pupils. It was at

this place he learned the tragical end of his father, the Duke of Orleans, whose title now descended to himself. Montesquiou now thought he could with safety offer an asylum to the duke, of whom his enemies had for some time lost all trace.

Here he remained for some time, under the name of Corby, when, his retreat being no longer a secret, he determined to go to America, and Hamburg appeared to him the best place for his embarkation. Before, however, he had completed his arrangements, he received a letter from his mother, the Duchess of Orleans, in which she begged him, in the most touching manner, to quit Europe for America. He sailed from the Elbe, on board the American ship *America*, in September, 1796, and in October, he landed in Philadelphia. The following year he was joined by his two brothers, the Duke of Montpensier, and Count Beaujolais. Louis proposed to them to travel through the interior of the United states. They set out on horseback, accompanied by a single servant named Beaudouin, whose firm attachment to his master had caused him to follow him many hundred miles through fatigue and sometimes almost starvation. They passed through Virginia, paid a visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon, and traveled through the principal southern states. They returned to Philadelphia, their funds being entirely exhausted. They were dependent upon some rich merchants for their support till their mother, having recovered possession of her property, supplied them with the means for a new journey. In Boston they learned that she had been transported to Spain. They immediately returned to Philadelphia, intending, if possible, to join her there. No ship being likely to sail from the above port, they eventually sailed from New York in an English vessel, and arrived in London in February, 1800.

The duke and his brothers resided for some time at Twickenham, twelve miles from London, where the Duke of Montpensier died. Count Beaujolais was in feeble health, and was ordered by the English physicians to a warmer climate. The duke accompanied him to Malta; thence to Sicily; but before their arrival

at the latter place, the young prince died. After many adventures, the duke met his mother at Mahon, from whom he had been separated sixteen years. At Palermo, he was married to the Princess Marie Amelia, daughter of the King of Sicily. After the fall of Napoleon, he returned to Paris, and enjoyed the happiness of finding himself in a country which had not forgotten his former services. On the return of Napoleon he sent his family to England, and soon after joined them at their late residence at Twickenham.

On the return of Louis the Eighteenth to France, Louis Philip brought his family from England, and took up his residence at his beautiful seat of Neuilly, whence he was invited to repair to Paris and assume the executive power, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. When the session of the Chambers was opened, and the abdication of Charles was declared, an invitation was signed by the members, to Louis Philip, to assume the title of King of the French, which he accepted; and he took the oath to the new charter. Louis Philip had by his wife Marie Amelia, Princess of Naples, eight children, seven of whom are now living:—Ferdinand, the late Duke of Orleans, born Sept. 3, 1810. Louisa Marie, born April 3, 1812. Marie Christine, born April 12, 1813. Louis, Duke of Nemours, born Oct. 25th, 1814. Marie Clementina, born June 3, 1817. Francis, Prince de Joinville, Aug. 14th, 1818. Henry, Duke d'Aumale, born Jan. 16th, 1822. Antoine, Duke of Montpensier, born July 31st, 1824.

THE END.

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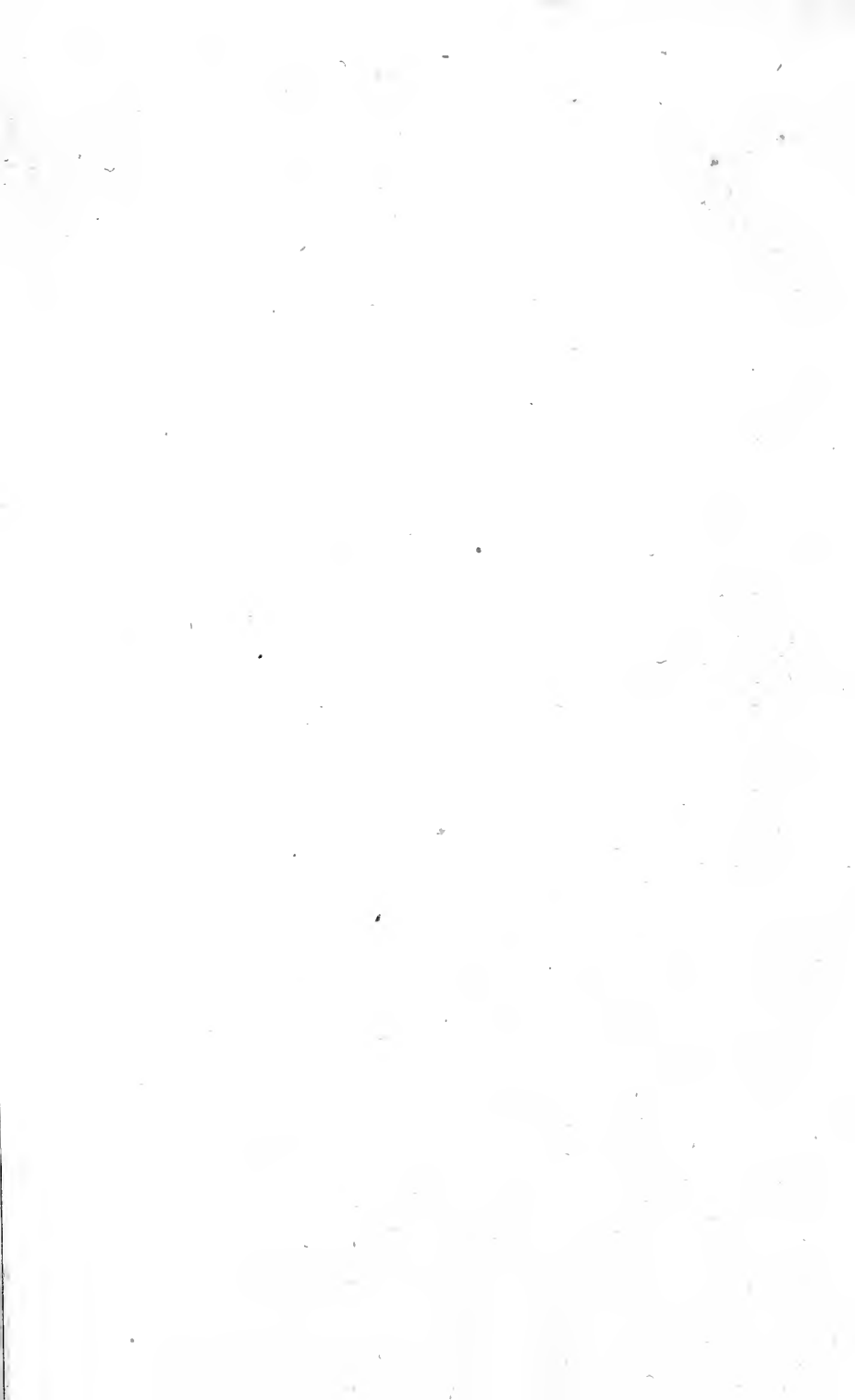
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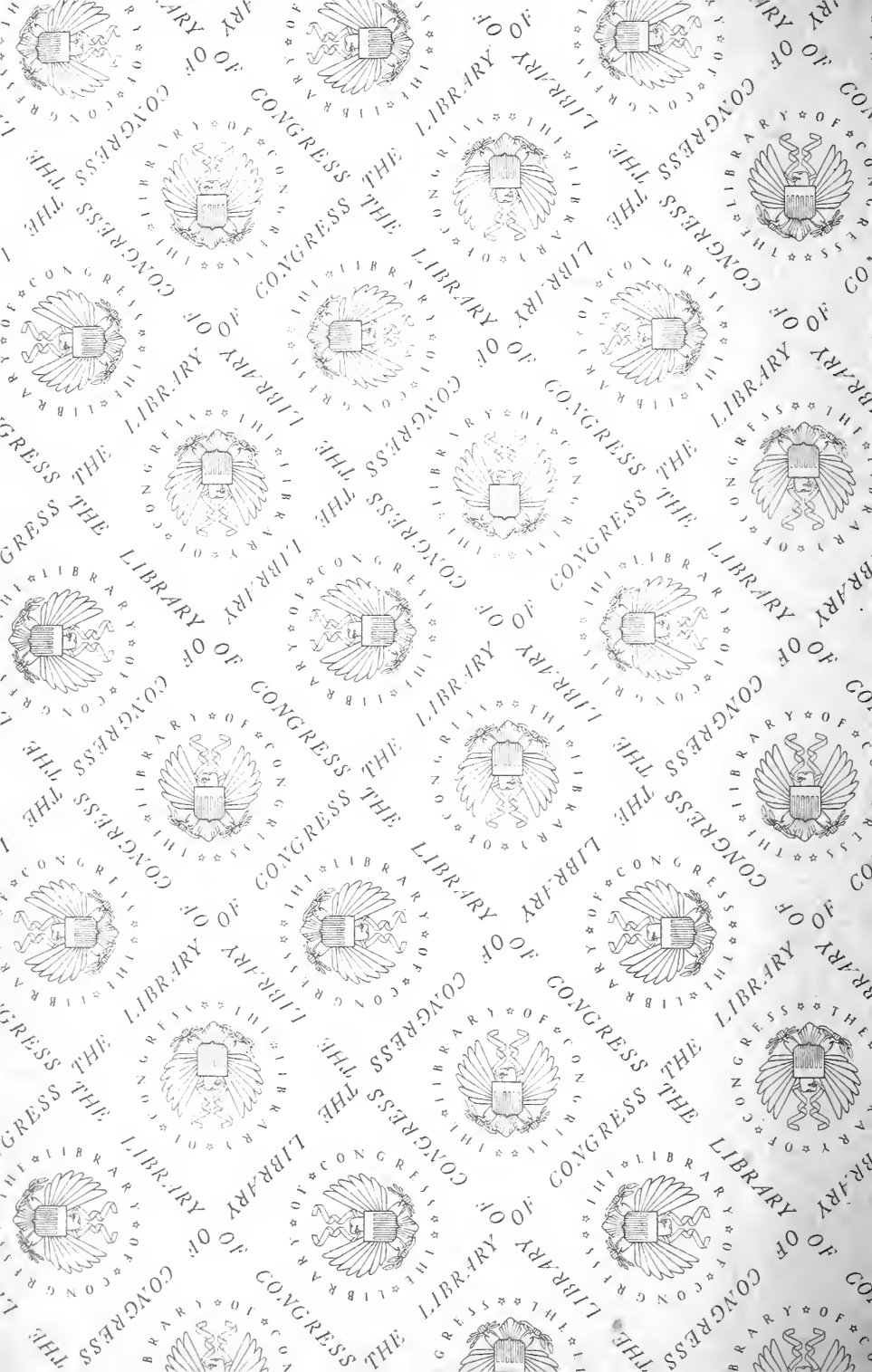
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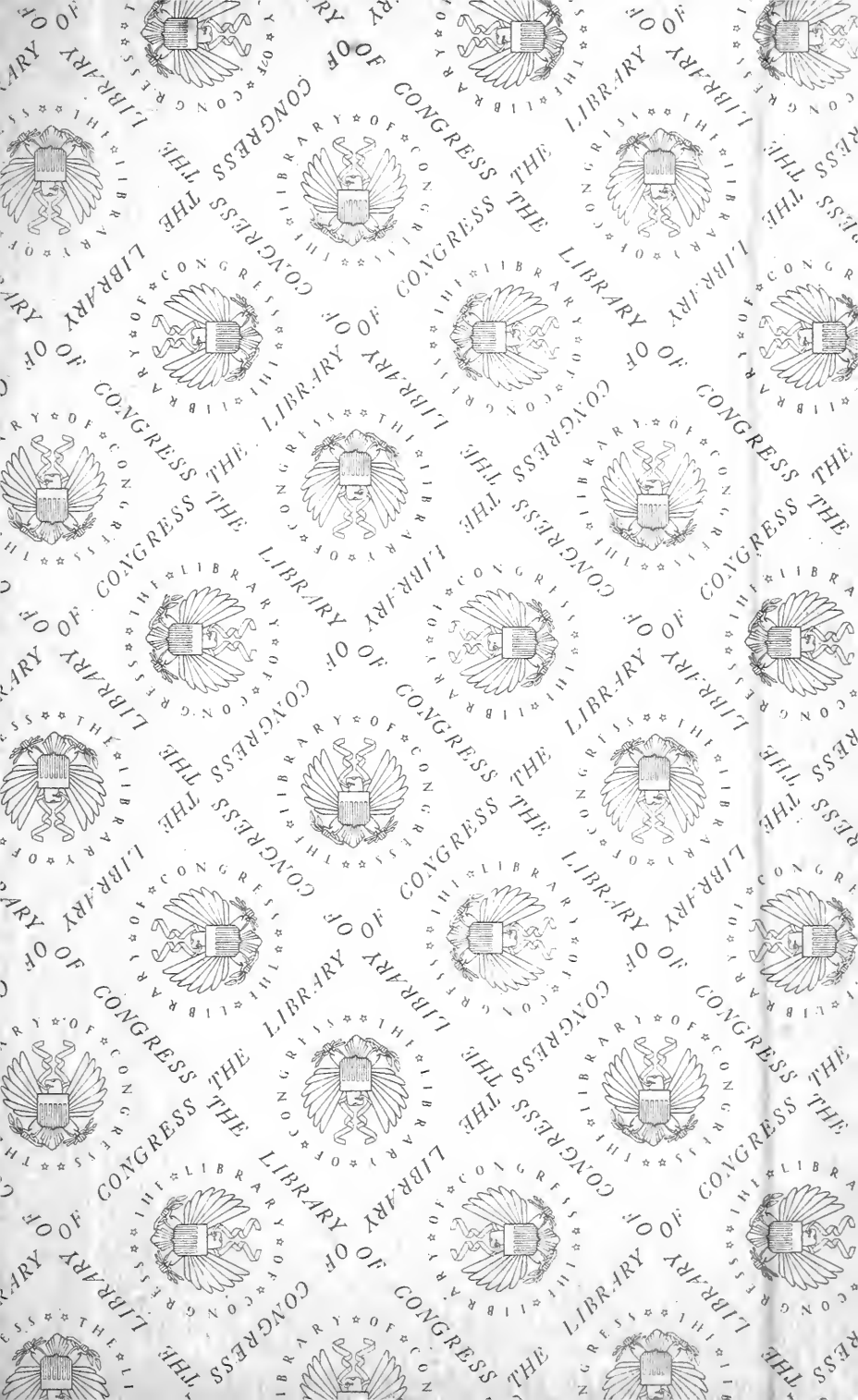


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